



Daily Report

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Daily Report

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NOTICE TO READERS: All material in this volume previously disseminated in electronic form.
An Ω indicates a Foreign Media Note.

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Woerner Cited on Gorazde Strike, Damage Report

AU1104160894 Paris AFP in English 1518 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Brussels, April 11 (AFP)—A U.S. jet fighter apparently destroyed three tanks Monday [11 April] during the second NATO attack in less than 24 hours on Serb positions around the mainly Moslem town of Gorazde in Bosnia-Herzegovina, NATO said here. Manfred Woerner, secretary-general of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, said a single U.S. FA-18A jet fighter carried out the strike.

"We have only first pilot reports, which say that three tanks seem to have been destroyed but that is not confirmed," he said in a statement. The attack occurred at 1224 GMT.

On Sunday [10 April] two U.S. F-16 aircraft dropped five bombs on a Serb artillery position outside Gorazde, a Moslem enclave being besieged by Serb forces which is under United Nations protection as an officially-designated safe area.

The operation was officially launched in support of UN personnel at Gorazde. Bosnian Serbs fired more shells on the town on Monday, reportedly injuring 200 people at a refugee centre. Woerner said: "Serbs had resumed shelling from the south and UN personnel trapped in the area were in some danger."

On Sunday, after the first strike, U.S. President Bill Clinton warned that U.S. warplanes would strike again in Bosnia if UN authorities asked for military support. Sunday's attack was the first by NATO warplanes on Serb ground positions since the civil war in Bosnia began two years ago.

Rules Out Prestrike Consultations

AU1104193894 Paris AFP in English 1910 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Brussels, April 11 (AFP)—NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner said Monday [11 April] that effective air strikes in Bosnia would be impossible if Russia was to be consulted first as it had demanded. "If we have to set up a process of consultation which would last hours and hours, it would never happen," Woerner was quoted as saying by a NATO official.

He also warned Serbs against revenge attacks against UN Protection Forces, saying NATO would not hesitate to launch more air strikes if requested.

Russia reacted angrily to air strikes Sunday [10 April] and Monday on Serb positions around the besieged Moslem enclave of Gorazde by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). After Monday's air strikes, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev insisted that Russia should be consulted before all NATO raids.

"It is very dangerous and a big mistake to make such decisions without prior consultation with Russia," Kozyrev said during an official visit to Madrid.

But Woerner, speaking at Aachen in Germany, said it would not be possible to protect UN troops—who called for NATO's air strikes Sunday and Monday—if there were hours-long delays.

"Close air support has to be rapid. You have troops under fire. You want to protect them. You have to hit very rapidly," Woerner was quoted as telling reporters.

He also said he hoped attacks on UN troops and Gorazde, in eastern Bosnia, would stop after Monday's air strikes. But he added: "We did what we said and we will not hesitate to repeat close air support air strikes as long as requested."

UN 'Surprised' About NATO Planes at Tuzla

LD1204100494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0907 GMT 12 Apr 94

[“Pool” item]

[Text] New York, April 12 (TANJUG)—No one at the United Nations headquarters could confirm or deny on Tuesday reports that a NATO aircraft bringing special troops and war equipment had landed at Tuzla airport in eastern Bosnia.

The report surprised even U.N. peace missions spokesman Fred Eckhard. He told TANJUG that he did not know anything about it, but that it was possible that the report was correct and that the troops and equipment involved could be those intended for securing the airport.

The Bosnian Serb army general staff accused NATO on Monday of having used its aircraft for a synchronized action with Bosnian Moslem infantry against Serb positions at Gorazde and of having brought its rapid deployment force units to Tuzla airport.

The Bosnian Serb army general staff also said a NATO C-130 transport aircraft landed at Tuzla's Dubrava airport at 16:50 hrs local time on Monday, bringing members of the NATO Rapid Deployment Force and a considerable quantity of ammunition, weapons and military equipment for a coordinated action with Bosnian Moslem units against Bosnian Serb units.

The synchronized attack in the Gorazde area and the use of the Tuzla airport for military purposes (the airport has not been reopened for relief aid deliveries yet) indicates that the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has overstepped its mandate and that it will be fully responsible if the conflicts in former Bosnia-Herzegovina escalate, the general staff said.

Bosnian Serbs have opposed the reopening of Tuzla airport, justly fearing that it might be used as a conduit for supplying Moslem units with military equipment. They have demanded that Serb observers and Russian peacekeepers be deployed at the airport.

'More Than 30,000' Attend Funerals for Soldiers*AU1204064894 Paris AFP in English 2259 GMT 11 Apr 94*

[Text] Tirana, April 12 (AFP)—More than 30,000 Albanians turned out Monday for the funerals of two soldiers killed, according to authorities in an attack on their training camp by "Greek terrorists" backing autonomy for Albania's ethnic Greeks.

About 10,000 mourners in the southern town of Gjirokastra massed outside the Greek consulate in protest at the reported attack near Peshkopia early Sunday. Another 20,000 attended the second funeral in Siera.

Defence Minister Safet Zhulali attended the funeral in Gjirokastra and in a speech hit out at "the Greek Government and the Greek church... conspiring behind our backs".

He said Greece which has expressed fears for the safety of the Greek minority in southern Albania "bears full responsibility for these acts which will be punished if they are repeated".

Albanian officials said officer Fatmir Shehu of Gjirokastra and conscript Arsen Gjini of Siera were killed and several other soldiers wounded when a Greek commando crossed the border at night and attacked the training camp. The Greeks allegedly opened fire on the sleeping soldiers.

Zhulali dismissed Greek calls for incorporation into Greece of the Greek-populated area of southern Albania which Athens refers to as Northern Epirus. "Northern Epirus does not exist and never existed," he said.

The Albanian Government, in a communique Monday, said Sunday's attack was a "direct attack on Albanian sovereignty and territorial integrity". Albania reserved the right to "take all necessary steps to respond to this policy of provocation", the statement said.

Greek Mistreatment of Refugees Alleged*AU1104115094 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 3 Apr 94 p 1*

[Edmond Laci report: "Beatings Accompany the New Greek 'Cleanup'"]

[Text] Kapshtice—Albanian refugees forcibly repatriated by the Greek authorities are making chilling allegations. Only one week after the harsh statement by the Albanian Foreign Ministry condemning the murder of a young Albanian by Greek border guards, many Albanian refugees expelled in the last few days tell of inhuman crimes committed against them. After an interruption in the mistreatment and mass expulsions of Albanians, the Greek authorities embarked on a new "cleanup" campaign on 29 March. Most of the 1,600 Albanians returned on that day—at a time when the average number of returnees amounts to 200 refugees per day—have testified to the Albanian border authorities that

they were tortured and even obscenely baited. The statement by the Human Rights Union deputy in the Albanian parliament on 30 March, protesting against the police who, according to him, prevented the [Greek] minority from celebrating 25 March, the anniversary of the Greek Revolution of 1821, has compounded the most recent Greek-Albanian incident.

About 1,000 refugees returned at the Kapshtice border crossing immediately on reaching Albanian soil spoke of previously unheard-of crimes. This contingent had fallen prey to the special police of Kostouri, in whose cells more than 30 refugees were kept for four or five days without food of any kind. The most chilling tales include cases of the rape of Albanian girls by Greek soldiers, even before the eyes of other men who were in detention alongside them. Meanwhile, other victims of this terror confirmed at the border other cases of extreme torture such as the use of electric shocks on their bodies. The contingent returned on 29 March also confirmed to the Albanian authorities that they had left dozens of other mistreated Albanians at Kostouri, one of them in serious condition. The baiting of the Greek soldiers with the words, "Whose is Macedonia?" often involved beatings with rubber truncheons. Drachmas and food were also confiscated, and passports with valid visas for their bearers were also torn up.

This raises once again tensions between Albania and Greece at the very time when matters appeared to be reverting to normal. Greece's turn as EU chairman and the recent visit of high-level Greek Foreign Ministry officials to Tirana had given new positive signals not only for interstate relations but also for the delicate problem of Albanian emigrants and the regulation of their status in Greece.

Socialist Party's Dokle Views Nano Verdict*AU1104150394 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Apr 94 p 2*

[Interview with Socialist Party Deputy Chairman Namik Dokle by Erion Brace; place and date not given: "Fatos Nano's Sentence Symbolizes the Violations of Human Rights, Press Freedom, and the Independence of the Judiciary"]

[Text] [Dokle] The Socialist Party [PS] expected such a sentence, and it does not matter whether it is of 12, 14, 11, or seven years, because it is a political decision issued by what Dritero Agolli has rightly called the supreme staff of state policy, and is without legal grounds. It is a verdict that conflicts with Albanian public opinion, with the opinion of the European Parliament and of the Interparliamentary Union, and the motion for a resolution proposed by deputies of the Parliamentary Assembly. It is thus a verdict issued by the Democratic Party [PD] in a tight fix, in an attempt to recoup what it has gradually been losing since 22 March [1992 elections]. This is a disaster not only for the PD, but for all Albania and for the solution of Albania's problems, which cannot be settled by political trials but only by wise government for the people, genuine democracy,

tolerance, and cooperation and understanding among the political forces. The PD normally makes comparisons with the past when such things are mentioned.

Indeed, when one compares society today with totalitarian society, one cannot fail to notice many improvements, but one cannot make such comparisons. Comparisons should be made with the kind of society we want to create, with the principles of democracy, and the experience of European democracies today. In this sense, there are extraordinary violations of human rights, press freedom, and the independence of the judiciary. Fatos Nano's sentence precisely symbolizes these violations.

To sentence Fatos Nano means to sentence the free press; to sentence Fatos Nano means to sentence political pluralism; to sentence Fatos Nano means to sentence democracy; sentencing Fatos Nano means that the unemployed will remain out of work for a longer time. People on welfare will remain on welfare, and will then lose it. What do I mean here? I mean that the PD and its government, instead of tackling the extraordinary economic problems, are politicizing the economy and, being unable to solve its problems, are involving themselves in trials such as that of Fatos Nano.

Of course, the length of the sentence is quite unimportant to the PS. What is important for us is how long the 900 days until the new elections that Mr. Berisha has announced will last. We think that Albania must hold early elections as soon as possible in order to realize the aspirations of those students who first shouted, "Let us lead Albania to Europe" and "Let us lead Albania to democracy." When Albania sets out on this path, it will not have political prisoners such as Fatos Nano or any other politician.

[Brace] What political action will you take?

[Dokle] Of course, we do not work in spurts, but have concentrated political activities in every field. As I said before, the sentencing of Fatos Nano means the sentencing of the democratic path in Albania, the violation of human rights, and the violation of the independence of the judiciary. Our future work will therefore consist of a struggle for the respect of human rights and basic freedom, because Aleksander Frangaj and Martin Leka have been sentenced alongside Fatos Nano, and also a struggle to restore the lost independence of the organs of the judiciary. It is not simply the problem of one Fatos Nano, but that Fatos Nano symbolizes something. He symbolizes the scope for democracy in Albania, and the PS's struggle to defend Fatos Nano symbolizes this party's struggle in the defense of fragile Albanian democracy.

[Brace] Since you spoke about symbols, you mentioned that Shefqet Beja was the first deputy to oppose the totalitarian methods of the old regime, and that Fatos Nano was the first deputy to oppose the totalitarian methods of Berisha's regime. Shefqet Beja and Fatos Nano are brothers in a single democracy. How would you comment further?

[Dokle] It is true that this trial, which lasted one month and produced its verdict today, reminds you precisely of the conviction of the earlier deputy in the years immediately after World War II, because he was the first deputy to oppose the totalitarian tendencies of the new Albanian state. Fatos Nano was the first Albanian deputy to oppose the totalitarian tendencies of Berisha's regime. These tendencies were highlighted in the resolution of the European Parliament, which explicitly states: "While the totalitarianism of the past regime has been dealt a heavy blow, there is a temptation toward authoritarianism that seriously imperils pluralism and the development of democratic processes in Albania." This trial resembled those of the past, and to my mind only the portrait on the wall was missing, because in other respects this trial was the spitting image of those that went before. What were the similarities? For example, Mr. Bendo was the legal master of ceremonies, and his entire verdict was rescued by the testimony of Adil Carcani. He purposely forgot that Adil Carcani was the man who, when the students asked him to remove the name of Enver Hoxha from the university, steadfastly refused, and was apparently obliged to sign the instruction by an order. Agim Bendo takes this man as a witness, a man who amazingly seems to have known nothing about the aid coming to Albania at that time. However, the problem lies deeper, and is not simply that of an individual. In Albania, the 1976 Constitution has been abrogated, but, in the absence of a new constitution, the Civil Code, Penal Code, and Penal Procedure Code all stem from the Stalinist 1976 Constitution, and everything that takes place is conducted in a totalitarian way. This is the greatest evil, because political instructions and orders from above take priority, rather than legal evidence, the evidence of a witness, and the confrontation or arguments.

[Brace] Since you mentioned orders from above, do you think that Berish kept his promise of an open and transparent trial, with an independent verdict?

[Dokle] This promise, i.e. that Fatos Nano's trial would be open and transparent, was broken when there was a telephone call to Mr. Berisha about a delicate matter connected with the Nano trial, and when the lawyer Sanxhaku, who was to travel to Paris, was held by the police under an order from above.

I think that the trial was open but not transparent. It was open because it was held in open court, but this trial lacked transparency. It suffices to mention the fact that, in Fatos Nano's defense session, the prosecutor's case was broadcast in full, and Judge Bendo's verdict was also filmed in full today, while not even 1 percent of Fatos Nano's defense was carried by the radio and television, even when one knows that Fatos Nano remained a deputy enjoying full rights until the day of the verdict. However, the organs of justice and finally the court systematically denied him this right and others that the law guarantees.

Hungarian Vessels Allowed To Leave Vidin

AU1204102594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Report by Totka Ninova]

[Text] The two Hungarian tugs Vac and Egzsenek have just set sail from the Vidin bank of the Danube. The two vessels were detained by representatives of the Western European Union, the Bulgarian State Navigation Inspectorate, and Vidin customs. The vessels had to stay there for four days so that they could be provided with the necessary UN permits allowing them to sail to Hungary. The two vessels are towing five barges loaded with 991 tonnes of phosphate.

Gelemenov Followers Volunteer for Serbia

AU1104121194 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 6 Apr 94 p 1

[Report by Teodora Encheva]

[Text] STANDART NEWS learned on 5 April that Father Gelemenov's "skinheads," Dr. Ivan Georgiev's people, Russian Cossacks, and Bulgarian volunteers are ready to leave for Serbia as soon as Turkey sends "Blue Helmets" there. The Fatherland Party of Labor [OPT] and the Russian All-National Union [Ruskiyat obshtenaroden suyuz] (ROS) have informed the state leaderships of the Republic of Bulgaria and the Russian Federation that they will send volunteers to our western neighbor with a view to ensuring equilibrium. Anatoliy Dolgoplov, a Cossack from the Kuban and a parliament deputy of the Russian Path party, declared: I think that no state or parliament will forget about its peoples and fail to protect them. At the moment I have no troops, Dolgoplov said, but if anyone dares to encroach upon Bulgaria's interests..., suggestively failing to complete his sentence.

Father Gelemenov told STANDART NEWS: "My lads (the 'skinheads'—editorial note) say that it is quite easy to enroll as a volunteer in Serbia." Gelemenov said that last year he wanted to leave for Bosnia, but a woman called Petya had become very dear to him, and this stopped him from going. The leader of the unregistered National Socialist Party claims that Bulgarian mercenaries received 2,500 German marks a month. He said he knew of special offices in Serbia that recruited volunteers and sent them for training. The nationalist parties do not intend to found a special union of volunteers, but they will encourage them, Gelemenov said.

A source close to the Bulgarian "Blue Helmets" association declared that four or five former "Blue Helmets" from Cambodia are already on the territory of southern Yugoslavia. The source said they left on a trip abroad and, at the moment, are earning their livings as professional rangers.

The Defense Ministry refused to make any comment, because it regards the statement issued by the OPT and ROS as a piece of utter nonsense.

Nikolay Slatinski told STANDART NEWS: This is nonsense, and it repeats the incredible stupidity of those who applauded the bombing of the Serbian positions in Sarajevo. As chairman of the Parliamentary National Security Commission, he added, I am against the idea of sending volunteers to former Yugoslavia, although we are Slavs and Christians.

The people who signed this document should be reported to the prosecutor, Zhan Videnov, leader of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], told STANDART NEWS. It is a technical omission that so far the PSSD [Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy] has not stated any official viewpoint on the fascist statements and activities of Father Gelemenov. Mr. Videnov considers that Bulgaria should reconfirm its stance of nonintervention in the Yugo-conflict. Yesterday the Socialist leader refused to have a meeting with the Russian Path party, which under the chairmanship of Sergey Baburin represents the ROS in the Russian Duma.

Official Views Arms Trade, Military Complex

AU1104181394 Sofia PARI in Bulgarian 5 Apr 94 p 5

[Interview with Ivan Kolev, deputy chairman of the Interdepartmental Council on Issues of the Military-Industrial Complex and Mobilization Readiness, by Ventsislav Todorov; place and date not given: "We Are Encountering Difficulties in Restoring Lost Positions"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Todorov] Recently the cabinet issued a decree on regulating control over foreign trade activity with military and specialized production. Does it mean that prior to this state control was not efficient?

[Kolev] No, after 10 November 1989 Bulgaria firmly declared that it would observe the international norms related to the export of arms. Then we issued a document that regulated the manner and means of trading in arms. We worked on the basis of that document until the decree was adopted. The decree is stricter toward the exporters in anything related to the information that they must provide. I would like to stress that the Interdepartmental Council firmly, steadily, and uncompromisingly controls arms exports. In many cases we refuse the exports because we are concerned that Bulgaria should not be drawn by any means into international scandals regarding the arms trade.

[Todorov] It has been claimed that in recent years we have lost 80 percent of our arms markets—is this the real picture and what could be changed?

[Kolev] This figure is probably related to the collapse of the agreements with the former Warsaw Pact countries. Our exports were predominantly directed toward those countries. In comparison with the top year—1988—our

exports have decreased eight times. I do not want to cite precise figures. However, at the same time I very much hope that in 1994 Bulgaria will export twice as much as in 1993. While we are encountering difficulties in regaining our positions, we are nevertheless slowly and painfully regaining them in our traditional markets. Our arms and goods are of high quality and they are being sought. However, I must point out that arms markets throughout the world have shrunk. We can hardly compete with such giants as Russia, the United States, China, or even Switzerland and Sweden. However, we have our place and are doing everything possible to regain our positions. The main thing is how to come up with new systems and new items. It is high time that those who are concerned about Bulgaria began speaking about investment, innovation, creating new production, and purchasing licenses, and not rally slogans and cliches. In 1945 Japan was restored from ashes because it purchased licenses on a massive scale. [passage omitted]

[Todorov] Recently at the National Assembly Economic Commission Andrey Lukanov, National Assembly member, said that our middleman companies have taken advantage of Bulgarian obligations to the former CEMA. The Teraton Company and the sum of 230 million leva were mentioned. Do you consider such deals normal and do they help our military-industrial complex?

[Kolev] I sincerely regret that I cannot answer this question in a profound manner, because it has not been reviewed by the Interdepartmental Council, and I do not have the necessary documents. I am vaguely aware of the problem from what I read in the press, and thus I cannot commit myself to a professional answer. I could say one thing—the trade companies must work in a manner that will bring revenue to the state.

[Todorov] There are four state companies, which have been allowed to conduct arms business—Kintex, Armymex, Teraton, and Element Engineering. Have additional companies, including private ones, shown any interest?

[Kolev] Now a barrier rightly exists—the arms trade must be implemented only by state trade companies. Probably the moment will come when, under certain conditions and criteria, private businessmen will be allowed to trade with such production, if they can prove to the state that they have the possibilities of doing this. The arms trade is a complicated process. It is not regular trade. It requires specialized knowledge and training. The people who work in these organizations must have experience. There is a risk involved in allowing private companies to trade in arms without having any guarantees that we would not be drawn into a new international scandal. [passage omitted]

[Todorov] Are you optimistic over the possibility of the Bulgarian military industry restoring the stability and market scope of 1988?

[Kolev] I am a realist. It will be incredibly difficult, but restoring those dimensions and even expanding them can become possible only when we change the range of our merchandise. Arms production as a generalized concept is an agent of technical progress. Its top achievements were incorporated in space vehicles. Inventors in the United States and Russia were slow and rather jealous in conveying their achievements to civilian production. Even now the top technologies in the United States, Russia, France, and the world technical and technological centers are utilized first of all by the military industrial complexes. Therefore, we must be realists in assessing our possibilities and place.

[Todorov] Thank you for this interview.

Radioactive Cesium Found in Milk Near Kozloduy

*AU1104124394 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian
7 Apr 94 p 1*

[Report by Veselka Damyanova and Lidiya Lecheva]

[Excerpts] A check by specialists from the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant in the public health protection zone around the nuclear plant established that milk produced at the dairy farm of the labor collective farm (now in liquidation) in the town of Oryakhovo was radioactive. The milk was found to contain radioactive cesium-137, and the degree of radioactive contamination was found to be 30 becquerels per liter. The results of measurements taken on two successive days—23 and 24 March—were the same. On 30 March, the instruments established the presence of cesium in the milk with a radioactivity of 60 becquerels per liter. The source of the contamination proved to be silage pit that had been sealed off some time ago. A lack of food for the animals obliged the dairy farm workers to resort to the feed buried in the pit. On 1 April, measurements taken showed that the fodder had a radioactivity of 800 becquerels per kilogram. [passage omitted]

On 4 April 1994, a commission comprised of representatives from the Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology, the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, and other authorities with an interest in the problem decided on measures to render the area safe.

The specialists assert that no one has consumed the contaminated milk and that it did not enter the commercial market. [passage omitted]

President Havel's Health Reportedly 'Improved'*LD1204095294 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0900 GMT 12 Apr 94*

[Text] The state of health of Czech President Vaclav Havel has improved. However, his agenda will continue to depend on the progress of his convalescence to make sure that he will fully recover by the meeting of Central European presidents on 15-16 April in the east Bohemian town of Litomysl.

President Havel had a medical examination on 7 April that showed his lung infection was receding.

Government Bill on Security Service Criticized*AU1204113194 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 2 Apr 94 p 3*

[Commentary by Lubor Kohout: "Are We Releasing a Genie from the Bottle?"]

[Text] The Security and Information Service [BIS] is operating according to bill No. 527 of 1992. This bill, however, was valid only until the end of 1993. A new bill, properly drafted and permanently valid, was expected to be passed by the end of 1993. However, it was not drafted by that date. To make it possible for BIS to operate even after this date, parliament at the very last moment extended the validity of the temporary bill until 31 July 1994. Recently, the government handed over to parliament a draft in which it proposed the principles of the bill. Some of its contents, however, are very questionable.

For instance, if BIS decides to use intelligence-gathering technology against a constitutional official, then, according to the draft, this information must be indicated in the request handed over to the judge who approves the utilization of this technology. This means that only the judge has to be informed about the possible BIS eavesdropping on a constitutional official, and no one else—that is, neither the president, the prime minister, the chairman of parliament, nor the chairman of the senate (if the senate is established at all in the Czech Republic). It ensues that the government, particularly its prime minister, have waived their legal right to be informed about eavesdropping on constitutional officials. Vaclav Klaus has thus gotten rid of his responsibility. It is as if the prime minister told the secret service: "I do not want to know anything. It is your business if you want to eavesdrop on a constitutional official."

The prime minister's reluctance to deal with problems that smack of troubles has certainly affected this decision. Had we not often heard Klaus call for civic responsibility the situation would be less absurd. Like that, responsibility for eavesdropping on constitutional officials falls only on the judge who has approved it and the BIS director who proposed it. No one else has to be informed about it and bear responsibility for possible illegal utilization of intelligence technology. In other words, if the BIS director believes that, for example, the Democratic Union (replace this name with any other name, if applicable) is an extremist organization (or is conducting activity that could be used as a token justification for eavesdropping) and finds a judge who is of the same opinion, there is nothing to prevent eavesdropping. The same applies to the eavesdropping on deputies, ministers, senators, etc. If the representatives of the Democratic Union or another party find out and prove that they have been the subject of [illegal] eavesdropping, the BIS director and the judge may be dismissed, but that is all. Neither the government nor any other politician will be responsible because it knew nothing. The BIS director did not even have the obligation to inform them.

In a similar way, this also applies to surveillance, where only the decision of the BIS director or a designated department chief is required. If the BIS director (or a subordinate to whom he has delegated this power) decides, for whatever reason, to carry out surveillance on a constitutional official, he does not have to have the approval of anyone else, nor does he have any obligation to inform anyone else—in this case, not even the judge.

It is impossible to completely rule out the possibility that the Secret Service apparatus will be used for political objectives. However, we should make such a possibility as difficult to materialize as possible and indicate who is responsible for the abuse of the secret service. Even if it was true that in countries with a long democratic tradition the eavesdropping devices have never been misused, the powers delegated to the BIS director would still be excessive.

The Watergate affair, where eavesdropping on the electoral staff of the Democrats was conducted with the knowledge of the then Republican President Richard Nixon at the beginning of the 1970's, shows us that it is important to protect ourselves as effectively as possible against the misuse of intelligence technology. Well-drafted laws are part of this protection. If the Chamber of Deputies approves the bill according to the government-drafted principles, this law will certainly be flawed. It would help if the ministers and the deputies imagined the situation where they themselves could be eavesdropped upon or targeted for surveillance.

Kovac Receives U.S. Deputy Secretary of State

LD1204110394 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Strobe Talbott, the U.S. deputy secretary of state, began a one-day visit to Slovakia this morning. [passage omitted]

This morning, Talbott met President Michal Kovac. Agatha Stanekova reports. [passage omitted]

[Begin Stanekova recording] The first point on the agenda of Talbott's visit to Slovakia was the reception by Slovak President Kovac at Primacialny Palace in Bratislava.

President Kovac highlighted the importance of Central European countries for the security of the whole of Europe. He reiterated the invitation to President Clinton to attend the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of Slovak national uprising [end of August] and briefed the guest about the internal political situation in Slovakia.

Talbott handed personal greetings from Bill Clinton to President Kovac. President Clinton considers that a prosperous and democratic Slovakia is beneficial for the United States. The U.S. deputy secretary of state praised the interest of our state in the Partnership for Peace program and Slovakia's integration efforts, which enjoy the full support of the United States. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Moravcik Discusses Government Policy

AU1204101094 Bratislava SME in Slovak 2 Apr 94 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by Robert Kotian; place and date not given: "We Do Not Want To Limit Ourselves to Six Months"]

[Text] [Kotian] Journalist Marian Lesko commented on the previous government with the maxim that it could not govern the way it wanted and did not want to govern the way it could. How does your government want to govern, and how will it be able to govern in the six months allotted to it?

[Moravcik] Although the factor of the six-month term significantly affects our operation and decisionmaking, we do not want to limit our program to this term—i.e., we are designing the program so that it is based on a long-term concept and development trends we want to outline and, in the coming six months, do something for their implementation. That is the general approach. From this point of view, we do not want to limit our ideas in designing the government policy to the six-month term.

[Kotian] Could you be more specific regarding the most important long-term trends?

[Moravcik] The economy is our number-one priority, although development trends must also be launched in

the social sphere. In the economy, it is the fast transformation, which in turn requires accelerated privatization. Privatization must be executed so that it is a part of the economic concept—i.e., that it create conditions for the solution of economic problems.

[Kotian] A lot has been heard recently about legal and ethical doubts, about hectic privatization measures of the previous government. How do you intend to deal with this problem?

[Moravcik] From the vantage point of privatization, in general, it is a minor problem. We do not want to lose much time on this. It must be settled as fast as possible.

[Kotian] Your political adversaries claim that the broad coalition is held together by fear of Meciar and the interest in privatization. How do you argue against claims that the interests of political entities are your main concern in privatization?

[Moravcik] That cannot be argued, but, by deeds—we must consistently implement the basic approach of achieving transparency in privatization—projects will be published so that everybody can learn who privatizes what—i.e., make privatization subject to public control.

[Kotian] What is the place of the second wave of privatization in your concept?

[Moravcik] We are just now contemplating its extent. However, if we wish it to have a meaning, its extent cannot be significantly smaller than in the first wave. We want to do everything in our power for it to be executed before or at least soon after the elections.

[Kotian] Milan Knazko told SME that your government will not be election-conscious but, rather, has to implement some very unpopular measures. How do you personally deal with the internal dilemma of not being election-conscious but, at the same time, not fail in the elections. You certainly want you or a similar government to continue in the aforementioned trends.

[Moravcik] Obviously, a balanced approach must be found. To act with just the elections in mind would be in direct contradiction to our political beliefs. It is necessary to work for the benefit of the country—if I can phrase it so—and I believe that we can convince the citizens of this country that some measures are necessary even if they are unpopular. From this point of view, I would not perceive election interests as an effort to be popular at any cost. After all, that would not even be convincing.

[Kotian] It may be convincing for a citizen, in the negative sense, if you adopt unpopular measures without a convincing justification or if you adopt solely unpopular measures.

[Moravcik] Of course, we have reckoned with that. There is a limit in the unpopular measures, beyond which we cannot go, not because of the elections but, rather,

because we have to consider the social acceptability. We have to move within these limits.

[Kotian] Could you possibly indicate now some of the measures that could make life easier for, let us say, physicians, teachers, pensioners, businessmen...?

[Moravcik] It is difficult to talk about it now because we have to take another look at the budget first. Even if we take some measures concerning transport or pension indexation, or public catering in educational and health-care institutions, we would like the impact to differentiate between those who are at a certain level of social minimum and those who can afford it. In simple words, regardless of the position of the vantage point in the political spectrum, we cannot impoverish the country or move a large number of people below the sustenance minimum.

[Kotian] How do you want to convincingly address the trade unions, to whom the former prime minister laid it on with a trowel by the adopted General Agreement?

[Moravcik] We propose to change the General Agreement, in general, and some of its stipulations, in particular. The biggest problem is the arduous question of the social fund, and we must explain in actual figures whether the implementation of such a demand would bring the desired effect. We must reflect this problem onto its macroeconomic correlations and consider its feedback in the social sphere.

[Kotian] The IMF supplement to the Slovak Government Memorandum is a considerable problem. You decided to accept it, although it will translate into restrictive measures. Can you give us some details of this amendment as well as the measures to moderate its impact?

[Moravcik] So far, this supplement is not really topical because we are building on the assumption that, if we find another way of securing the objective, an agreement with the IMF can always be reached.

[Kotian] Do you know another way of securing the objective?

[Moravcik] For example, it is not acceptable to us that we implement the value-added tax according to this proposal. This means that we will have to distribute the cost of these measures to society in a differentiating fashion, according to the social strata. Hence, if the price of food were increased, we would have to take care of a pay raise for certain groups of population. Thus, the increase in the price of food would not be so drastic.

[Kotian] Do you have in mind some sort of compensatory allowance?

[Moravcik] It is rather a raising of pensions and income. This society must maintain a certain culture, and this includes security for people with lower incomes.

[Kotian] A new body emerged at the time of the coalition talks—the Coalition Council, which is to smooth the rough edges between the individual entities represented in the government. Does the Coalition Council limit your powers?

[Moravcik] So far, the Coalition Council has been helping. I am convinced that I will be able to repeat this at the end of my term of office. We discuss the principal problems at these talks. We come up with certain ideas that are examined here, and thereby we are assured that our decision is correct.

[Kotian] How do you see the prospects of such a coalition council, of such a cooperative form of government?

[Moravcik] I believe, that, in the positive sense of the word, we have been forced to such a form of government. We would like to continue in this fashion. We have to do our best to achieve favorable results in the next elections, to convince our citizens that this form of government brings them agreeable conditions for their work.

[Kotian] What holds together such entities as the Party of the Democratic Left and the Christian Democratic Movement so that they are capable of governing together?

[Moravcik] I believe the political responsibility for the fate of this country that they assumed, and I believe that, if they assumed this responsibility, they must not gamble, they must reach an agreement. The agreement will be a complex one, but the experience to date has not revealed any significant differences.

[Kotian] Does it mean that the difference between the left and the right wings is vanishing in Slovakia, or, the farther down or in the corner Slovakia is, the more unequivocal is the way out?

[Moravcik] However we look at it, one thing is clear: The time for pragmatic solutions is here. We are able to unite on that. This society must get out of its predicament and isolation—i.e., the society at any cost, and subsequently we can implement right- or left-wing policies. At this time, all entities united in a certain orientation, and it is important that they agreed on the acceleration of the transformation.

[Kotian] You referred to pragmatic solutions and the agreement between the left and the right wings. How do you perceive through the prism of your words a certain tension and strife in the center regarding the liberal or conservative orientation?

[Moravcik] I believe it of marginal importance. The logical disintegration of political forces and the formation of a rational political scene is taking place in Slovakia only now. It is a process that is marked also by numerous subjective factors, but I firmly believe that it will eventually lead to a rational distribution of political entities. From this point of view, I regret that we have not managed to form a single party with Cermakites, but, if they feel that their place is on the right, they are likely

to approach the Christian Democratic Movement. We want to cooperate with the National Democratic Party; at least we would like to go jointly to the elections. The fact that we have not formed an integral entity certainly makes us weaker, but it would not do to try forcing something that is not internally consistent.

[Kotian] A problem of the government that failed in the 1992 elections was the media rendition of their intentions, their objectives, their lack of convincibility. Despite having a very short term of office, this problem also pertains to you. Do you feel certain weaknesses of your government in the sphere of media influence?

[Moravcik] No, to tell the truth, even if we do not push ourselves through as markedly as Vladimir Meciar, for instance. I believe it correct. We do not wish to follow the path we criticize, and, furthermore, the situation is different from what it was after the first recall of Meciar. Now, a large part of the population has undergone adverse experiences with his government.

Ethnic Hungarian Leader Views Balladur Plan

AU1204112994 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 9 Apr 94 p 16

[Interview with Miklos Duray, chairman of the Coexistence Movement, by David Megyeri; place and date not given: "Slovak-Hungarian Chances"]

[Excerpt] Something has "moved" in Slovakia; we could already sense this at the end of February and the beginning of March while listening to statements of leading politicians. And then the change came about: the fall of the Meciar government and the establishment of the new Moravcik government, which let it be felt from the first moment that it would like to implement different politics, in a European spirit. We asked Miklos Duray to analyze and assess the situation and the prospects for the region. We first asked him about the chances of the Balladur plan.

[Duray] Hungarians, especially those living outside Hungary, have been particularly interested in the Balladur plan, which now, since the summer of 1993, has the name of European Stability Agreement in international politics. There are two major reasons for this. One is that this plan carries the possibility of a new peace treaty, which would actually mean making peace after the Cold War. The other possibility is that, through this, Hungarians living in their place of birth but being stuck outside Hungary could receive some kind of international settlement and guarantee. It is this second possibility that particularly interests us, mainly because we feel that, as a community, we were left out of the preparation of this document. To remedy this, we turned to the then Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in the fall of 1993 and informed him about our reservations. We mainly turned to him because, at that time, both Romania and Slovakia completely rejected the plan. In fact, in Slovakia, there was no dialogue between the government and the Hungarians. Even then we thought that this plan

should be changed in such a way that the national minorities would also be given an active role in it, or perhaps in such a way that, within the given country, an agreement should be arrived at between the government and the legitimate representatives of the Hungarian communities on how the situation of the Hungarians would be settled. However, another way could be that the legitimate representatives of the Hungarian communities participate in the bilateral talks between the neighboring countries and in the preparation of bilateral agreements. Antall's government promised that it would identify with these proposals and [Prime Minister] Peter Boross's government confirmed this.

[Megyeri] Do the international political forces support your ideas?

[Duray] At the end of March, I held talks in Paris with a number of French Government and Foreign Ministry experts, and with politicians of the biggest government party, the Rally for the Republic (RPR, Jacques Chirac's party). My impression is that the solution that contains the agreement between the government of the given party and the legitimate representatives of the Hungarian communities may receive support. I also held talks on this in Switzerland with the government in Bern. The same solution was found to be acceptable here. Therefore, if our suggestion is successful, huge possibilities will be opened for us in connection with the Balladur plan—significantly bigger possibilities than ever before in the past 75 years.

[Megyeri] What if you do not achieve the change of the plan?

[Duray] If our efforts are not successful, I openly admit that it would be better not to have this plan at all. In that case, a worse situation might be created than what emerged as a result of the agreement on the protection of national minorities, which was made in Saint Germain after World War I.

[Megyeri] I feel that what you have said about your talks abroad gives grounds for cautious optimism. Can we also use the term "cautious optimism" in connection with the statements of the new Slovak Government?

[Duray] It is a fact that the current government cannot be compared with the previous one, neither in a political sense nor in terms of its human quality. There seems to be a huge difference, and this is clearly in favor of the current government. They are willing to hold talks with us. However, it has to be known that they were not willing to include us in the government. At the same time, it is also true that we are having talks and we are invited members of the coalition council. Before the government was established, we had agreed with them on a set of demands laid down in eight points, as a condition for our support of the current government. It seems that, in many respects, the government is willing to implement these. Talks are under way on the implementation of these points. The government program will

be submitted to parliament for discussion on 12 April, and we hope there will be no reason for us not to vote for it.

[Megyeri] In your view, what are the possibilities and chances for the Moravcik government?

[Duray] Their possibilities are limited from two points of view. One is the length of the government's mandate, and the other is that the government is politically divided. In addition to this, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, Meciar's party, which has fallen out of government, and its partner, the Slovak National Party, and the Matica Slovenska behind it, do everything they can to make any possible positive steps of this government in our direction very difficult. [passage omitted]

Party Deputies Allegedly Bribed To Defect

AU0804202894 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak
6 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by S. Tomanek on a news conference held by members of the Meciar-led "shadow cabinet" on board the Druzhba on 5 April on the occasion of the first anniversary of the daily REPUBLIKA: "Provisional Cabinet Is Afraid of Control"]

[Excerpt] Gabcikovo—[Passage omitted] According to members of the shadow cabinet, the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] as the strongest coalition party has an interesting position. Even though the government includes 11 former members of the Communist Party, the wires are actually being pulled by the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], through the important posts of state secretaries. [SDL Chairman] Peter Weiss has gotten rid of four SDL representatives who were ready, in the interest of stabilizing the Slovak Republic, to negotiate with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] by appointing them to posts. Pavol Kanis, Pavol Koncos, and Juraj Hrasco are ministers, and Lubomir Fogas is in the European Parliament. The SDL, which proclaims its social orientation, has given up these government departments and clearly goes after property through privatization.

They Are Trading In Deputies

According to members of the shadow cabinet, the provisional government will try, out of fear of the election outcome, to change the electoral law. By asserting a lowering of the 5-percent threshold [for winning seats in parliament], a greater number of parties would get into parliament, and the result would be a lasting destabilization of the political scene. The attempts by the coalition to gain 90 votes before the elections will probably continue. The elections would be in acute danger in that case. The government coalition keeps addressing eight to nine HZDS deputies, with seven-digit sums flying through the air. In spite of everything, Vladimir Meciar is confident of the HZDS's victory in the early democratic elections. [passage omitted]

HZDS To Seek To Reduce Aggression at Rallies

AU1104182994 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak
6 Apr 94 pp 1-2

[TA SR report: "Increase in Number of Intelligentsia Members Registered"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] has registered a large increase in the number of intelligentsia members among its members, and the movement's profile is improving from this point of view, HZDS Deputy Chairman Sergej Kozlik stated in an interview for TA SR. According to his words, statistical data confirm that the HZDS's structure is no worse in this regard than that of the Party of the Democratic Left. "We even have a lower percentage of people with only a basic education than, for example, the Christian Democratic Movement," he added.

Speaking about meetings between HZDS representatives and citizens of Slovakia, Sergej Kozlik said that it was necessary to seek forms that would alleviate tension and prevent outbursts of aggression, such as the recent physical assaults on four journalists. It is questionable, and it has not been proved by anyone, that these were HZDS supporters, he said of the assailants. He admitted that people are to be seen at the movement's rallies who behave in an uncivilized manner, often under the influence of alcohol. The HZDS does not regard these people as its supporters, however. "Dramatic political situations always attract these types of people," he said, and did not rule out that an attempt at political provocation might be involved. "At any rate, these manifestations are neither democratic nor ethical, and there is no place for them on the political scene," he stressed. Sergej Kozlik assumes that future HZDS rallies would have an expressly civic character. [passage omitted]

Parliamentary Committee Votes Against Government

LD0804153294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 8 Apr 94

[Excerpts] The government's policy statement has been debated at the two-day session of the parliamentary committee for the national economy and the budget. Deputy Prime Minister Brigita Schmoeignerova took part in today's session. After the session, our correspondent Bibiana Gunisova asked the committee's deputy chairman, Jozef Kosnar, to assess the session:

[Begin recording] [Kosnar] As ensues from our committee's portfolio, the main points on the agenda were the points of departure for, and the risks of economic development. These include risks related to the period covering not only this government's term of office but especially the risks of the budget economy up until the end of 1994.

We also considered ways of eliminating these risks and creating a possibly more favorable point of departure for

the development of both the budget economy and the macroeconomic indexes in the following period—that is, in 1995.

[Gunisova] From your point of view, are these risks appropriate?

[Kosnar] These risks are greater than the previous government was willing to admit when approving the 1994 state budget. [passage omitted]

[Gunisova] In your opinion and according to the committee for the national economy and the budget, are the proposals for tackling economic problems presented in the government's policy statement acceptable and realistic?

[Kosnar] This is a peculiar situation. The debate was very simple. No serious objections were raised against the measures, the philosophy or the outlines of concrete solutions, or the more detailed explanation presented by the ministers and the deputy prime minister.

However, when it came to the vote, a certain party discipline prevailed, and so the result of the vote was that the resolution did not receive the simple majority needed for it to be adopted by the committee, due to the fact that the deputies for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia opposed this government policy statement. [end recording]

Defense Minister Talks With Romanian Army Chief

*LD1104180494 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 11 Apr 94*

[Text] Defense Minister Pavol Kanis today received Lieutenant General Dumitru Cioflina, state secretary at the Romanian Ministry of National Defense and chief of staff of the armed forces of Romania, who is paying a two-day visit to Slovakia.

They briefed each other on the structures of the armed forces, discussed possibilities of cooperation in the military sphere, and confirmed their interest in cooperation when modernizing weapons and arms systems.

Jeszzenszky: NATO Air Strikes 'Serve Peace'*LD1104211294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 11 Apr 94*

[Text] According to Hungary's assessment, the NATO action against Serb positions at Gorazde serves peace and not war, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszzenszky told MTI in Los Angeles. He expressed his hope that the Bosnian Serbs will take the warning seriously and return to the negotiating table.

Boross Cited on AWACS During Gorazde Attack*LD1104185694 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 11 Apr 94*

[Excerpt] Prime Minister Peter Boross has visited Szekesfehervar. According to our correspondent, the prime minister said NATO AWACS planes have been and do remain in Hungarian airspace; they were here during the NATO air strike on Gorazde, too. However, he said, Hungary had received assurances that the planes are here without target guiding tasks [tuevzezerlesi feladatok] and that they carry out only airspace patrolling duties. [passage omitted]

KDNP's Surjan Views Chernomyrdin Visit*AU1104122594 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 8 Apr 94 p 5*

[Interview with Laszlo Surjan, chairman of the Christian Democratic People's Party, by Moricz; place and date not given: "Calm Is in the Public Interest"]

[Text] Despite their public fighting, the parties have been making statements in the spirit of a foreign political consensus, even if some parties thought this consensus was lacking, Laszlo Surjan told us.

[Moricz] After his visit in Budapest, the Russian prime minister received the Hungarian journalist in Moscow and spoke with great appreciation of his talks with the Hungarian Government. How did you receive this evaluation at home?

[Surjan] On behalf of both the government and myself, I can say that the visit of the Russian premier in Hungary was extremely important indeed. We highly appreciate the firm Russian readiness to settle the outstanding Russian debt to Hungary. Hungarian participation in the Russian privatization process opens up possibilities for both settling the debt issue and vitally broadening our foreign trade that dropped considerably after the collapse of the Soviet market.

[Moricz] What effect could the domestic political echoes of this visit have on the ratification of the basic agreement?

[Surjan] This cannot affect the ratification of the basic treaty. At the same time, caution and consideration are needed in the course of election speeches, and I also include myself in this requirement, because emotional

elements can greatly affect the public mood and the relations between individual parties.

[Moricz] In your opinion, how will Hungary fare in the period until the May 8 elections?

[Surjan] It is a positive development that, according to opinion polls, the percentage of people willing to participate in the elections is increasing. I am convinced that a bad decision will not emerge if a sufficient number of people go to vote. In the current difficult economic situation, it is in the public interest to enable the new government to lead the country in calm and stable circumstances.

Boross Interviewed on Economy, Other Issues*LD1004165794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0530 GMT 10 Apr 94*

[Studio interview with Hungarian Prime Minister Peter Boross by correspondent Pal Lakatos on the "Sunday Newspaper" program—live]

[Excerpts] I welcome our studio guest, Prime Minister Peter Boross. Pal Lakatos, duty editor of "Sunday Newspaper," will be putting both the listeners' and his own questions to the prime minister.

[Lakatos] [passage omitted] The collection of nomination slips for next month's elections closed on 8 April. According to the statistical data, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] can put up candidates in 166 places, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] in 172, the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] in 176, and the Workers' Party in 146. [passage omitted] On the basis of the figures, should one not, or do you not, fear the possibility of a shift to the left? [passage omitted]

[Boross] On the basis of the figures I do not fear this. Otherwise, a tendency towards a shift to the left is something that everyone can sense. As for its proportion, that is something that only the elections will decide, and I hope that it will not be of a greater proportion than desired. These figures by themselves do not say anything. The nomination slip collections in more than one case were a show put on by campaign groups that tend to do this, rather than an expression of the personal qualities of the candidates. [passage omitted]

[Lakatos] It is interesting to note that during the past few days on the part of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] there have been more and more appeals to the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP]. It is generally known that you too would join a coalition with the KDNP if the chance presented itself. What is your opinion on this?

[Boross] My opinion about this is that our cooperation with the KDNP is a natural one deriving from shared political orientations on the basis of shared principles and ideas. Whereas other parties—the abovementioned one as well, I think—would have to struggle with this

difference in concept which separates them from the Christian Democrats. My impression is that the KDNP will not fall for various siren voices which are speaking in its direction, because it is aware that from the point of view of the party's future, it is extremely risky to conclude a political alliance contrary to the demands of the membership and the masses that support it.

[Lakatos] Pardon the expression, but this is what people say, this is how they put it: Prime Minister Peter Boross is engaged in undermining work [aknamunkat vegez] to divide the party of the SZDSZ. At the same time they also say that he would like to lure the Fidesz [Federation of Young Democrats] to the MDF.

[Boross] It is no accident that they use this word—undermining. It is true that it takes place under ground and in secret and not in full view or within earshot of others. [passage omitted] My conviction is that in the SZDSZ there are two parties and two trends. I must add that the SZDSZ is the one that did not in any way split in the course of the trials of the previous four years. On the whole this sort of thing did happen to the parties, and in certain cases it ended sadly, as in the case of the smallholders. In others it could even be called a purification process. This split did not happen with the Free Democrats. However, this dual trend is perceivable in the SZDSZ.

Now, in the case of Fidesz there is nothing: Our stance has not changed in any way. It is simply that Fidesz's national conference or congress, or I don't know know what they call it exactly, in Debrecen, proclaimed a national liberal profile. And naturally this aroused the attention of a national-orientated party, such as the MDF. But if this looks like some kind of allurements, then I have to say that this is not a well-meaning interpretation. We are looking for the motifs in every party that could become the basis for future cooperation in the country's interest. Accepting the national trend is one very serious element of this, and it can be found without doubt in the case of Fidesz. However, this means nothing with regard to the future. At present we are rival parties in this election struggle and each represents his own principles and programs, which, in more than one case, clash.

[Lakatos] Let us leave party politics proper for a moment and let us remember the date, today's date to be precise, 10 April 1994, when throughout the world people remember the 600,000 Hungarian Jews who perished in the Holocaust. Is this an occasion for the world to bow its head?

[Boross] It is an occasion for the world to bow its head; it is an occasion for every right-thinking person to bow his or her head; it is particularly an occasion for every right-thinking Hungarian to bow his or her head. On 19 March 1944 the country was caught up by the tragedy, the tragedy of the Nazi occupation. And what happened after that is the darkest point in Hungarian history, when old people, women, children indiscriminately were

transported to their deaths. And these kinds of trains set off from this country. I think that the memory of this terror must shake everybody. [passage omitted]

[Lakatos] Our late prime minister, Jozsef Antall, whose birthday, 62d birthday, would have been on 8 April, declared himself to be the prime minister—in spirit—of 15 million Hungarians. A listener from Nove Zamky [in Slovakia] asks: Do you think in exactly the same way?

[Boross] I have already spoken about this; yes, I do think in exactly the same way. And on this occasion as well I would stress with great emphasis the oft-misquoted phrase of Jozsef Antall's—in spirit—lest it arouse excitement among those who would infer from this some kind of intention to change the borders, let alone to change the borders by force. Throughout the world there are 15 million Hungarians: four million here [in the neighboring countries], beyond the borders, and one million in the wide world who call themselves Hungarian. This has been their fate in the 20th century. And a Hungarian prime minister at all events must pay heed to these 15 million as well; and I think he has every moral basis for feeling himself to be the representative—in spirit—of 15 million Hungarians.

[Lakatos] Istvan Gangesz from Budapest, telephone number 1320- 428, asks in connection with this: If you consider yourself the prime minister—in spirit—of 15 million Hungarians, then why did you permit 10,000 foreigners to privatize Hungarian industry?

[Boross] I don't know who counted these 10,000, or where this figure comes from; I have no personal knowledge of this. I will give a very much simplified answer: In 1938 about 30 percent of Hungarian industry was in foreign ownership; at present this figure is around 10 percent, but it is not even as much as that. [passage omitted] A significant part of what has passed into foreign ownership in our country represents developed, modern, up-to-date technology; it means production in our country, wages paid in our country, and in every way it is a blessing to the country. [passage omitted] In any case, if this foreign capital were not to appear in Hungary, then the oft-repeated modernization, the problems caused by the oft-repeated shortage of capital, would never be resolved. I can reassure everybody: We take great care that this foreign investment should not go beyond the limits beyond which a country's self-determination, or its sovereignty, might become doubtful. Those who know us will know that we take extraordinary care about this and this is a real priority with us.

[Lakatos] Prime Minister, are you not afraid, after these remarks, that the accusation of the recent past will be revived, namely that you are conducting success propaganda?

[Boross] [passage omitted] These four years have been full of a lot of bitterness and a lot of counter-propaganda. There have been results, and the Hungarian economy—but not just the economy, other sectors as well—has

started on an irreversible road. I know that this is not yet making itself felt directly in the households, but it carries within it the promise of the future.

[Lakatos] Allow me to quote the words of Gyula Horn, HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] chairman. Gyula Horn's message to the voters a few days ago was: Dismiss this MDF-led government which gives the people, the nation, as its authority, but which in the meantime, dispossesses [kisemmiz] the majority.

[Boross] Well, one could quote numerous other things from Gyula Horn's ex-cathedra sentences. [passage omitted] This far I can understand it, because Gyula Horn wishes to have a socialist government; after all this is the essence of the election struggle now. Only, this socialist government has already existed once; at least, in the two years prior to 1990 it called itself a socialist reform government. Anyone who has a good memory will remember what it achieved with this reform. My conviction is that it would be very bad for the country if it listened to Gyula Horn. [passage omitted]

[Lakatos] Agnes Csongradi from Budapest, or possibly not Budapest—the telephone number is 133-203—remarks or asks: Will you be leaving the velvet seat with a clear conscience after having sold off the country? And she hopes that the new government will be much better than the present one.

[Lakatos] [passage omitted] Will you be leaving the velvet seat with a clear conscience? We don't want to, and I personally do not want to leave this velvet seat, I who have held the post of prime minister for six months, not even for six months. But let me put it [the velvet chair] into quotation marks. This much-vaunted velvet seat is full of quite unpleasant fakir's nails. [passage omitted]

[Lakatos] [passage omitted] If we have a look at the popularity ratings and if I remember well, you received a rating of around 20 percent, while the MDF received around 10 percent. These two data suggest that you may be the most popular candidate for prime minister, but if your party does not win the elections, then you are not going to be a prime minister.

[Boross] The listeners should know that I can only be the prime minister of the country if they cast their vote for the MDF. [passage omitted] I aspire to be the prime minister of the country for four years so that I can put my ideas into practice in the country's economy and other fields.

[Lakatos] Several opposition politicians say if they enter government they will complete the compensation process; however, they cannot give any compensation for the past four years.

[Boross] Well, this is the usual irony. [passage omitted] But as far as compensation is concerned, I think that

there can be many types of privatization, but privatization as a means of compensation has its own moral underpinning.

[Lakatos] It would be worth talking about what the country was like in 1990 when this coalition entered government and what it is like today. Just a few important facts need to be mentioned.

[Boross] [passage omitted] This country was on the brink of insolvency. It has already been said several times that the foreign currency reserves today are nearly 10 times what the previous government had at its disposal.

[Lakatos] Then it was 800 million dollars and now it is nearly 7 billion dollars.

[Boross] Yes, around 7 billion, but this number is moving. [passage omitted] I refute allegations that the country is in a worse condition now—especially now, when there is no writer on economic topics or economist who would deny that industrial production grew by 10 percent at the beginning of this year. [passage omitted]

[Lakatos] However, many say that to implement the tasks more quickly, debt rescheduling would be necessary. [passage omitted]

[Boross] [passage omitted] We have already transformed the country's short-term debts into medium and long-term debts to make these years easier. It was only possible because we gave the impression of being a stable country with our financial reserves and internal relations. [passage omitted] If somebody has reserves like Hungary has and submits a request for rescheduling over an even longer period, then on the one hand it will be turned down, and on the other hand it will give a very bad impression on the international market, where every tiny movement is closely monitored. They would arrive at the conclusion that the country is insolvent. [passage omitted]

MTI Director General on Objectivity, Freedom

94CH0195A Budapest HETI MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 11 Mar 94 pp 4, 5

[Interview with MTI Director General Karoly Alexa by Miklos Vegh; place and date not given: "Party-Neutral National Institution"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Vegh] Few people would question the validity of the proposition that information is power. It is by no means an accident that the print and electronic media are constantly in the crossfire of party politics. Meanwhile the MTI [Hungarian News Agency] has remained unhurt.

[Alexa] It would be far-fetched to draw a direct parallel between the missions of newspapers, radio, and television on the one hand and the MTI on the other. Their functions in the transmission of news are quite different. We, for instance, have no direct contact with our readers. Here, in the case of news, the decisions are practically

forced ones. We are not the only news service in the market, and it would not be in our best business interest to let the truth content of our information be compromised and our credibility damaged. Our more likely dilemma is whether the necessarily variegated minor or major news stories flowing in to us cover the whole truth; whether the fragmentary events that thrust themselves into the forefront of attention obscure our view of the national, regional or local processes. But I wish to emphasize that we merely supply information to those who use them "in sharp focus," one way or another.

Far be it from me to claim that the people working here do not and cannot form personal opinions. But specifically these conflict-ridden days are the time when my directive became effective, the one that spells out what occasions, affairs, and forms in connection with the election campaign are incompatible with the duties of our employees. We cannot afford to let any political party accuse us of bias or prejudice. This directive is in accord with the Public Employees Law, yet it also has generated some resentment within our walls, because it clashes with personal interest. But I refuse to make any concessions on this issue... In the spirit of this same party-neutral attitude, we held a conference with the political parties about what the MTI will do as its duty, what we will offer to do voluntarily, and what we will not do under any circumstances, regardless of whatever pressure. This conference has been successful and "no complaints will be accepted" after this agreement. We will safeguard and strengthen the independence of this institution; in the interest of objective and trustworthy reporting, we will not yield to any blackmail.

[Vegh] Our interview is turning inevitably toward the coming elections, in which the governing coalition that orchestrated the change of political systems will draw up a balance sheet of its performance. Our approaching national holiday on 15 March, which is also Hungarian Press Day, might become yet another casualty of the partisan skirmishes that are already plagued by moral and political boorishness and falsehoods.

[Alexa] I must admit to having received numerous invitations from many places to speak that day, but I have turned them down. I do not find any such direct analogy with the change of our fortune in 1848 as I did in March 1989. To be more exact, I feel that the most appropriate way of celebrating the anniversary these days would be with diligent work rather than with pompous speeches. There certainly is less need for personal sacrifices. After all, awareness of our numerous losses is also decisive when preparing the balance sheet of the past four years. Here I am referring primarily to the death of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. It is symbolically intertwined also with my own fortune, because I seem to be his last appointment to high state office. Indeed, when I received my nomination, the inkspots next to his signature seemed to suggest that this had been practically the last pen stroke he ever made. I was already in this chair when I learned of his death. I found

it extremely disturbing that this historical loss suddenly became an item of daily news that had to be processed.

At the same time I am observing with hope how the country's fortunes are developing, and I sincerely want to see the country preserve and strengthen its ability to function. Let more and more people realize that what is happening in Hungary is their common undertaking; and let no one labor under the delusion that the various functionaries rallying around different banners are about to attack him. Let everyone bear in mind that here we are now jointly writing the history that will become our children's and grandchildren's history lesson that will lend itself to accurate assessment. If we wish to avoid disappointment for ourselves and posterity, we must do our work with less bluster and in closer mutual understanding. In this respect it gladdens me to see that the governing coalition is standing behind Peter Boross with fewer convulsions, less anxiety, and more self-assurance than previously. Practically every party has been disturbed by the extremists in its own ranks, to such an extent that even the opposition has been forced to purge its own ranks—the moderates are the ones now in control.

Regarding the Hungarian media in conjunction with all this, I am obliged to establish that they are being exposed to ever greater political pressure. All sorts of groups are striving to win the media over, to annex them, to convert them into their own organs. Day by day, this is threatening freedom of the press in that stage of its evolution where journalists do not yet realize what freedom of the press actually means. It does not mean their ability to say anything in the same organ, rather their ability to say the same thing anywhere they find a forum. That is also the lesson of the "revolts" about the public-service media.

Parliamentary Committee Questions Radio Dismissals

*94CH0222A Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
24 Mar 94 p 5*

[Article by Attila Herpai: "Gyorgy Szabad has the Csucs Case"]

[Text] The chairman of the Assembly's Committee on Culture appealed to the president of the National Assembly to resolve the problem presented by radio Vice President Laszlo Csucs when he failed to answer the Committee's questions by the established deadline.

Attila Zsigmond announced at the meeting of the Cultural Committee that as of the day before the Committee had received no response to eight questions for Laszlo Csucs, which he was supposed to answer by then. The MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] chairman declared that he had learned from the press that Laszlo Csucs requested an extension of the deadline for responding.

Some of the questions asked by the Committee pertained to the issue of whether the views of the public employee

council of the radio had been sought regarding the dismissals, whether the employer had proved a causal relationship supporting the dismissals, whether the employer had provided an opportunity for the dismissed persons to clarify the charges brought against them, and whether severance pay had been consistent with the violation of professional and ethical conduct criteria. The Culture Committee took the position that the law provided that a public employee may be dismissed only if no other work commensurate with his education could be found, or if the employee rejected the transfer. Based on this position, the Committee asked the vice president of the radio whether such an offer had been made. The Committee also expected to learn whether the dismissals constituted layoffs or firings on a disciplinary basis, and about the legal basis of the vice president's order, according to which the persons to be dismissed were to be prohibited from performing work without providing any reason for such prohibition. Based on responses to

these questions, the Committee wanted to decide whether it would hear the statements by the radio's vice president.

Tamas Fodor, representative of the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], recommended that the Committee ask National Assembly President Gyorgy Szabad what to do if a person fails to respond by a deadline set by the Committee. Attila Zsigmond expressed the view that this matter was clearly settled by both the Constitution and the house rules.

In response to our inquiry, SZDSZ media politician Miklos Haraszti expressed his view that Laszlo Csucs's request for a delay amounted to no more than the fact that the vice president of the radio had frustrated the not-too-strong intent of a majority of the Cultural Committee to hear Csucs during this session of parliament.

Walesa, Pawlak, Olechowski Meet With Talbott

LD1104181094 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Strobe Talbott, U.S. deputy secretary of state, who is on an official visit to Poland, has been received by President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak. He also had a one-hour conversation with Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski.

After years of confrontation and polarization, Walesa said in greeting the U.S. guest, there is now a chance to build a new order in Europe. We have fought for 50 years for Europe without divisions. This has cost millions of victims; the financial costs were enormous. After the sophisticated struggle in the 1980's, there is now a chance to resolve the problems. Fast action and courageous decisions are needed, the president said.

[Begin Walesa recording] I am convinced that, by cooperating with the United States, we can achieve beautiful victories in Europe. We are, however, concerned about the remnants of communism and the Warsaw Treaty. Of course, there are no direct dangers, but a sphere under a question mark still remains. We wonder whether this sphere, when left alone, can rebuild the old setup in different conditions but following the communist pattern, or whether one should aim at unity in Europe. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Pawlak, Olechowski Comment

LD1104193194 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] A meeting between Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak and the U.S. deputy secretary of state, which lasted almost an hour and a half, concentrated on Polish-U.S. cooperation. Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak said after the talks:

[Begin Pawlak recording] We talked with Secretary Talbott about the internal situation in Poland. I presented a report about our economic indicators for the first quarter. Inflation, which is at its lowest for the past seven years, and a considerable increase in industrial output are worth noting here.

We also talked about cooperation within various international organizations, starting with financial institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and also those that speed up various ways of development, among them GATT and the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development].

Discussion of the Partnership for Peace program played a very important part in our talks. Further talks on this matter will take place between experts so that practical, concrete, and joint projects can be initiated this year. I think that the development of our region, Central Europe, is also very important. We discussed how the development of Europe can be supported in an efficient and effective way. [end recording]

It has transpired from brief statements made by Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott and Polish Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski that their talks focused on the philosophy of the Partnership for Peace program. Partnership for Peace, Minister Olechowski said, is an instrument that could result in a Europe without divisions, or in a new division of Europe. He added that this opinion was shared by his U.S. guest. Our efforts in implementing the idea of the Partnership of Peace program, Minister Olechowski said, go in the direction of possibilities for cooperation between Poland's and NATO's defense systems. The objective is that, if need be, these systems should be able to cooperate with each other at any time.

Minister Olechowski added that there would be visible evidence of this partnership and that there would be more joint exercises and joint actions. Journalists asked Minister Olechowski whether this visit would change anything in our mutual relations.

[Begin recording] [Olechowski] No, I do not think so. I think that the nature of this visit.... [pauses] Mr. Talbott is a man with vivid interests, he is intellectually alert, and he promised to come to Poland on his first visit. I think that he wanted to show that he is interested not only in Russia. That is why he came to Poland to listen to what we have to say. We have heard the most recent opinions. I do not see any great differences here with what I heard three months ago.

[Unidentified correspondent] Specifically, can you name any undertakings with regard to the Partnership for Peace?

[Olechowski] There is our program, the presentation document, that we shall submit to Brussels very soon. We can see that this document, which has been written according to the philosophy I have described, is being favorably received.

We also talked about President Clinton's visit. He is to visit us in July. We talked about our region, and we shall continue this conversation this evening.

Talbott Briefs Journalists

LD1104201894 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1730 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Strobe Talbott emphasized at a news conference that the atmosphere of the talks he had in Warsaw showed that Polish-U.S. relations are excellent. The deputy secretary of state assured Polish politicians about the continued support of the United States for our reforms. He also told them that Poland's security was of vital interest to the United States.

[Begin Talbott recording, in English with superimposed Polish translation] We believe there will be no more spheres of influence in this part of Europe and that every country is going to cooperate with others on an equal footing, irrespective of their military strength. [end recording]

Strobe Talbott did not reply to a question on whether the United States would meet some of the costs of Poland's participation in Partnership for Peace. He merely noted that certain costs were connected with the benefits that came from participating in the program.

Walesa Receives Bulgarian Foreign Minister

LD1104163794 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1014 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Warsaw, 11 Apr—President Lech Walesa received at the Belweder today Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stanislaw Daskalov, who is paying an official two-day visit to Poland.

"For many years, we were in the same political and economic orbit, and certain bonds and cooperation were established. Now, when we are reforming our countries, I think we should return to some issues," the president said. According to the president, Poland and Bulgaria should cooperate more actively in the creation of a vision of a new Europe.

Daskalov said that Poland and Bulgaria have common goals: integration into the European Community. Daskalov repeated the invitation by President Zhelev for Lech Walesa to visit Bulgaria.

Ministers Sign Agreements, Convention

LD1104165094 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1012 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Warsaw, 11 Apr—Two economic agreements, on protecting and supporting investments and on avoiding double taxation, and a consular convention were signed today in Warsaw by Polish and Bulgarian Ministers of Foreign Affairs Andrzej Olechowski and Stanislaw Daskalov.

According to Minister Olechowski, a delay in signing the agreements had been caused by weak economic contacts, with which neither side is satisfied. According to Minister Daskalov, the creation of a legal base will give businessmen of both countries a feeling of security and will increase the scope of mutual investments. He said that, next year, Polish-Bulgarian talks might begin on setting up a free trade zone, when negotiations on Bulgaria's membership in GATT will be completed and the issue of Bulgaria's debts to Poland will be resolved (Bulgaria owes Poland 207 million transfer rubles).

The Bulgarian minister announced that it was decided during the talks how to resolve a dispute between both states concerning the localization of the Polish culture and information center in Sofia.

International issues were also discussed, including the aspirations of both states to the European Union and the situation in former Yugoslavia. The war there not only poses threats to Bulgaria's security but is also causing great economic losses.

Daskalov announced that he invited Andrzej Olechowski to pay a visit to Bulgaria.

Pawlak Seeks Better Relations With Germany

LD1204090294 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 0548 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] Warsaw (DDP/ADN)—Poland's Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak believes that German-Polish cooperation offers scope for development. Relations between the two states are good, and Germany is Poland's most important trade partner. Nevertheless, the opportunities offered by proximity have so far not been fully exploited, Pawlak said in an interview with DDP/ADN in Warsaw before his visit to Germany, which is due to begin on Thursday. "What is needed is stronger commitment in the search for partnership and balance," the prime minister said.

This applies above all because "certain disproportions" became apparent last year. For instance, Polish imports from Germany developed more dynamically than exports to Germany. Therefore, both sides should strive for equilibrium in the balance of trade. In Pawlak's view, for example, the export of Polish construction services could be again raised to the level reached years ago.

In the talks in Bonn, the Polish prime minister wants to concentrate on the practical side of cooperation. The priority is "the creation of mechanisms and infrastructures that promote exchange between companies and relations between people," Pawlak said. Governments have many opportunities to facilitate this process. The prime minister included in these the creation of a financial and transport infrastructure such as new border-crossing points, the development of cultural cooperation, youth exchanges, and tourism. Pawlak said he wants to talk about these issues in Germany.

He pointed out that Poland is very attentively watching Germany's stand on Poland's efforts to seek rapprochement with the EU [European Union] and with NATO. "I think our interests coincide in this area," the prime minister stressed.

Coalition, Walesa 'Arguing' Over Defense Board

WS1104104794 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9-10 Apr 94 p 3

[Article by Pawel Wronski and Wojciech Zaluska: "They Are Arguing About the Presidential RBN; Coalition Versus Belweder Again"]

[Text] *The dispute between the coalition and the Belweder over Rosati has not yet completely subsided, but there is another one looming on the horizon. This time, it is over the National Security Council [RBN]: Is it supposed to be Lech Walesa's advisory body, or is it supposed to strengthen the president's powers?*

"To clear up the situation, a Walesa-Pawlak-Kwasniewski summit meeting is necessary," leaders for

the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] kept saying yesterday. But they refused to comment on the president's two preconditions, which Lech Walesa says must be met before talks can be conducted: Give up Rosati and establish the RBN.

"There cannot be any preconditions," Oleksy said.

Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy refused to reveal yesterday whether the coalition has a new candidate for finance minister in lieu of Professor Rosati, whose candidacy was rejected by the president. Oleksy kept saying that Rosati is still the favorite of the SLD and the Polish Peasant Party. Aleksander Kwasniewski, who returned from his foreign trip yesterday, kept repeating the refrain: "Rosati is still our candidate."

A Dangerous President?

Oleksy was also critical of his party colleague [Labor Minister] Leszek Miller, who told journalists that the SLD has found a new candidate. "Miller has extraordinary inspirations sometimes," Oleksy joked. But we learned unofficially that the SLD leaders tried to persuade Bank Handlowy Chairman Cezary Stypulkowski to take over the Finance Ministry. But Stypulkowski does not want to change jobs.

In the meantime, the SLD leaders, irritated by Walesa's position, are coming back to the idea of amending the Small Constitution so as to prevent the president from being able to interfere with personnel decisions in ministries. They tried to talk the prime minister into this, but without success. Pawlak does not want an open conflict with the Belweder.

But, during confidential talks with the opposition (Democratic Union) before a vote on the president's veto regarding neo-popiwiek [wage-controlling legislation], Pawlak tried to convince his interlocutors that Walesa constitutes a threat to democracy and that parliament should resist him.

A Dangerous Council?

But, instead of peace at the top, as had been expected, there emerged a new dispute between the coalition and the Belweder. Sejm Speaker Oleksy has said that he does not know what the president meant when he talked about the RBN being a forum for meetings between the coalition and the Belweder ("We talked in different languages," the Sejm speaker said), but Andrzej Drzycimski's statement following a Walesa-Oleksy meeting was perceived to be yet another precondition set by the president.

Since November of last year, the Belweder has been demanding that the RBN be established as the supreme state organ responsible for the country's security. The council would be headed by the president, while its executive organ would be the Council of Ministers' Committee for Defense Issues [KSORM], headed by the prime minister.

Initially, the idea was that the RBN and KSORM were to be established in the spring, thanks to "speedy legislative proceedings." But then the coalition withdrew its support for the idea. "According to the coalition, the establishment of the RBN in this form would mean introducing a presidential system through a back door."

The RBN's existence is provided for by the Small Constitution, but it is only described there as the president's advisory organ. "A council such as this may be set up at any time, just like KSORM," Oleksy declared. "But, if this is to be the kind of agency the Belweder wants it to be, there is simply no issue."

An Agency or a Plane?

Other politicians have also criticized the Belweder's idea of the RBN as a forum for president-coalition meetings. "It does not include, for instance, Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the SLD Sejm Deputies Club. How is one supposed to have political debates then?" asks Jerzy Szmajdzinski, a secretary general of Social Democracy of the Polish Republic.

"It is absurd for Lech Walesa to regard the supreme state agency for the country's security as a plane for political games," says Tomasz Nalecz, of the Union of Labor.

Walesa's Possible Budget Moves Viewed

WS1104115194 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Apr 94 p 4

[Article by Robert Krasowski: "Everyone Is Waiting for the President's Move; Budget '94—Will Lech Walesa Use the Veto?"]

[Text] *The president has two more weeks in which to make a decision on the Budget Law. Many politicians from the governing coalition fear that Lech Walesa will wait until the last moment, so as not to lose a bargaining chip. After the decision made by the Democratic Union [UD], everyone knows that, even if the veto is used by the president, it will be overturned. According to the most drastic scenario, the veto could be a pretext for dissolving the parliament.*

Shortly after he received the draft of the Budget Law, the president stated that he has many reservations with regard to it, and that is why he does not know yet whether he will sign it. According to the president, the budget, which was prepared by the left-wing government, was adapted to the country's economic capabilities. That is true enough, but it also completely contradicts promises made before the elections.

"The nation will feel cheated again," Walesa says.

Two weeks passed since that time, and, throughout the period, the president did not make a decision. Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy tried to persuade the president on Thursday [7 April] to make a decision as soon as possible, so as to enable the coalition to "know where it stands."

According to the Small Constitution, the president has 30 days in which to take a stand on a budget, which means he has precisely two more weeks to keep the coalition in suspense. According to many politicians from the coalition, the president will procrastinate until the last moment because the threat of a veto may be used as a bargaining chip in negotiations regarding filling the posts of deputy prime minister for economic affairs and of finance minister.

But, following Saturday's statement by UD, to the effect that the party will not support a possible presidential veto, it has become obvious that the coalition will have no problem whatsoever pushing the budget through. Only the date of its enactment could be a problem. A few days ago, Defense Ministry [MON] chief Piotr Kolodziejczyk tried to persuade the president to submit the budget to the Constitutional Tribunal. According to Kolodziejczyk, the Budget Law interferes with MON's powers to an unacceptable extent by telling the ministry what kind of arms equipment it is supposed to purchase and where. If the president vetoes the budget and sends it to the Tribunal, the Sejm will not be able to adopt the budget until after a verdict has been rendered by the Tribunal.

A dissolution of the Sejm is the most radical scenario; it is being mentioned by some politicians. The Small Constitution provides that the president is empowered to dissolve parliament if it fails to adopt a budget within three months. Actually, the Sejm did manage to adopt it this time, but an argument could be raised that enactment of the budget by the Sejm involves not only its adoption by the Sejm and debates on the Senate's amendments, but also taking a stand on a possible presidential veto. Under this interpretation, three months passed a long time ago, but, according to legal experts, no justification can be found for the above argument in the Small Constitution.

Borowski Considered for Finance Minister

WS1104095494 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by "knysz" and "dom": "Perhaps Borowski? Belweder Sends Up Some Trial Balloons"; passage following the subhead attributed to "knysz" and "pw"]

[Text] *As we discovered yesterday from a politician running in Belweder circles, the president's camp is considering the possibility of Marek Borowski becoming deputy prime minister and finance minister for a second time.*

By using the mass media, Lech Walesa wants to investigate how the coalition looks on the idea.

That is why Lech Falandysz, a minister in the President's Office, said rather casually yesterday, during the "Breakfast With Radio Zet" program: "Perhaps Borowski then?" "That is very interesting," said a surprised Aleksander Kwasniewski, a leader of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD].

"It is not nonsense," our source from the Belweder tried to convince us yesterday. "Borowski was a good finance minister."

He also reminded us that the president already signed Borowski's nomination once in the past, and without any reservations. "So he can do it a second time," the source says. According to him, the reason the president signed Borowski's resignation so fast was that he thought Prime Minister Pawlak had a good candidate for the post. "But now we know that is not the case. So perhaps it could be Borowski after all?" This is the way the Belweder politician spoke about it.

But he is also afraid that such a scenario would be a bitter pill for the coalition to swallow. "It would have to admit that it had let go of a competent minister too easily," the Belweder source speculates. "They would also have to officially give up Rosati's candidacy, and that is something they, for the moment at least, find extremely difficult to come to terms with."

SLD Press Spokesman Zbigniew Siemiatkowski has said that the suggestion constitutes a clear message from the Belweder, but the SLD has yet to take a position on the issue. "At any rate, the concerned person [Borowski] is in Japan at the moment," the spokesman added.

It is also not known how Prime Minister Pawlak will respond to the proposal. Not so long ago, cooperation between the prime minister and a former deputy prime minister [Borowski] proved impossible, which resulted in Borowski's resignation.

Labor Minister Leszek Miller regards the whole thing as a joke by the Belweder: "It is indeed quite a perfidious kind of message to send, given the rush with which Lech Walesa signed Marek Borowski's resignation," Miller said.

According to other SLD politicians, the rush was very strange. Some expert opinions compiled on the SLD's order say that the president should not accept a resignation until he is determined to sign the nomination of a new minister. The Small Constitution provides that the president "makes changes" in ministerial posts.

Leszek Miller says that the SLD has a reserve candidate and that Borowski is not the one. "We will not reveal his name until the nomination is agreed upon within the prime minister-president-SLD triangle," Minister Miller adds.

Where To Meet?

The Belweder is gradually abandoning the idea it put forward on Thursday [7 April] that sessions of the National Defense Committee [KOK] be the only site for meetings between the president and the government chief.

"These are two separate issues," Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski explained to us yesterday. "The president wants KOK sessions to be a permanent place

for debates on strategic issues by the country's most important people. Spur-of-the-moment meetings with the prime minister are quite another story."

Let us recall that Drzycimski said on Thursday that a National Security Council (which has not yet been established) or KOK sessions should be where the coalition consults the president. The idea resulted in immediate protests by the coalition politicians, who perceived a speedy establishment of the council to be another precondition for talks with the head of state.

Results of Recent Polls Reported

President Has 'Too Much' Power

PM1104150094 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 6 Apr 94 p 4

[Article by "awo": "CBOS on President"]

[Text] The Small Constitution did not arm the president with sufficient range of powers to meet his suggested ideal model of the sociopolitical and administrative state system. However, the citizens of the Polish Republic do not share his view in this matter. In a March poll conducted by the Public Opinion Survey Center [CBOS], they expressed the opinion that the president wields too much rather than too little power.

How much power does the president have at the moment?

Too little	22%
Too much	36%
As much as he should have	29%
Hard to say	13% percent

The picture emerging from the public response to the poll seems to highlight the president's "political games." Lech Walesa is perceived more as a person entangled in a variety of tactical stratagems than a politician concentrating on solving the state's problems.

In its commentary on the poll, the CBOS admits that it is not clear how far the president's identity and personality influence respondents' inclination to accord him a wider range of powers or, conversely, to stipulate that his powers should be restricted. It seems that the office is to a large extent identified with the person. Lech Walesa generates much public emotion, and, as a result, he is easily assessed according to stereotyped categories. Consequently, the CBOS claims, it could be assumed that opinions on the president's place and range of powers are influenced by the fact that we are talking specifically about Lech Walesa as incumbent in that office. It follows from this that it is important to identify the president's goals.

The ultimate targets to which the public believes Lech Walesa aspires are as follows: reinforcement of his power, 46 percent; winning the next election for another

term of office, 40 percent; weakening his political opponents, 25 percent; attainment of law and order in the country, 24 percent; keeping the "commies" firmly under control, 19 percent; improvement of Poland's position in the world, 16 percent; acceleration of the economic reforms, 13 percent.

A lenient attitude toward the president is conducive to greater tolerance in assessing the activities of the Solidarity Independent Trade Union. Acceptance of the work of the Sejm is, as a rule, accompanied by approval of the government's activities. These two options are, to a large extent, mutually exclusive. Those questioned are on the whole more ready to accept the work of the Sejm and the government than that of the president and Solidarity.

Country 'Heading in Wrong Direction'

WS1204111894 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Apr 94 p 4

[Article by "NIKA": "Highest Pessimism Since August 1993"]

[Text] The level of social optimism is the lowest since August 1993. That is the result of a survey conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center [OBOP] at the end of March. A majority of Polish people (58 percent) think that the affairs of the country are heading in the wrong direction. Only one in four Poles is of the opinion that the situation is improving.

Seventy-nine percent of those polled say that moods among people are bad, and just 15 percent think they are good. Among the optimists, the most prevalent social groups are young people under age 19 (32 percent) and people who are well off financially (26 percent).

One-fourth of those polled predict an improvement in living conditions over the next three years, but one-third think that conditions will deteriorate. The latter view is shared most often by people between the ages of 40 and 49, with primary vocational educations and who are in poor financial condition.

Assessments regarding the current economic situation in the country are not the best, either. Only 5 percent of those polled think that the country's economic development is satisfactory, but as many as half of those polled (44 percent) are of the opposite view.

The number of people dissatisfied with the way democracy is developing in Poland is also on the increase (64 percent). It is the highest percentage since August 1993 of people negatively evaluating the social transformations.

The survey was conducted by OBOP in the period 23-29 March of this year, using a random sample of 1,197 people.

Further on Proposed Changes in Foreign Ministry

WS0704122994 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Apr 94 p 1

[Article by "em" and "krzem:" "Diplomats and Politicians"]

[Text] *The foreign minister agrees to deputy ministers coming from the coalition, but first he wants to reform the ministry by separating the political top from the apolitical rest of the ministry.*

"I want to have two deputy ministers submitted by the parties of the governing coalition in the Foreign Ministry [MSZ] by 1 July at the latest," announced Minister Olechowski. What must happen first is the introduction of a reform of the MSZ, which has been prepared and was presented by the minister to the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission yesterday. The new deputy ministers will be performing political roles, and they will not perform managerial functions with regard to anything in the MSZ. The current deputy ministers will most probably take up the posts of director generals.

If the government approves the project, the MSZ will be the first ministry in which the political top (the minister, his deputy, and his cabinet), which usually changes with every government, will be statutorily separated from the apolitical office chaired by a secretary general.

The new concept, which was prepared over a period of three months by a hundred experts led by Jerzy Kozminski, a secretary of state in the MSZ, is said to be liked by the president.

For a few months, Sejm deputies for the coalition were critical of Krzysztof Skubiszewski, the former MSZ chief, for a "disastrous personnel policy." Yesterday, Olechowski outlined some new principles of recruitment, promotion, and assignments to posts abroad. We know unofficially that he was hoping that this would lead to termination of the infamous Sejm subcommission for MSZ personnel, which was established in January in order to "settle accounts with the MSZ."

Olechowski's ideas were enthusiastically received by the Sejm deputies, but Andrzej Micewski (an independent) unexpectedly moved for an extension of the subcommission's mandate by three months. Olechowski responded with anger: "This contributes to an atmosphere of scandal surrounding the ministry. Neither the MSZ nor Polish foreign policy nor the interests of the Polish state benefit from the subcommission's activity."

Micewski's proposal was rejected by one vote, but it is not known how the conflict will end because the Sejm deputies for the coalition put the results of the vote in question.

State Revenues Derived From Privatization

WS1104143894 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Apr 94 pp 1, 7

[Article by A.K.K.: "Finances of Privatization; How Much for the Treasury"]

[Text] In line with preliminary calculations from the Finance Ministry, last year's privatization yielded 7.8037 trillion zlotys [Z]. The share of capital privatization—that is, the sale of stocks and shares of the Treasury—was Z4,8312 billion; the liquidation privatization—that is, the sale of liquidated companies or parts of their property—was Z1.2199 trillion.

This means that the privatization of state-run enterprises and banks did not yield the expected revenues: It was expected in the 1993 budget that privatization revenues would equal Z8.8 trillion. This sum was supposed to be obtained from all sorts of privatization—that is, capital and liquidation privatization; this means that not only the Ownership Transformations Ministry was supposed to work to achieve it, but also other ministries that supervise privatization as well as other founding organs—first of all, voivods.

If one wanted to find out what the real privatization revenues are, one would have to take into account not only the budget's revenues obtained from privatization, but also costs incurred because of that. The results concerning all of 1993 have not yet been prepared. In a brochure published by the Polish Economic Society, the authors Danuta Milczewska, Jacek Partyka, and Marianna Strzyzewska, using data from the beginning of privatization until the third quarter of last year, say that capital privatization yielded Z9.456 trillion for the state—that is, 64 percent of all privatization revenues. In that sum, foreign investors' contribution was Z5.541 billion.

At that time, on the basis of Article 19 of the Law on State Enterprises, 191 enterprises were liquidated, yielding Z592 billion for the state; this means that, on average, one state-owned enterprise that was liquidated in this way was handed over to a private owner for Z3.1 billion. The revenues from the liquidation carried out on the basis of the privatization law—the liquidation of enterprises that were in better financial condition (there were 691 such cases)—came to Z4.575 billion. That means that one firm was sold for an average Z6.6 billion.

Since the privatization process began, the share of revenues derived from liquidation carried out on the basis of the privatization law—that is, voluntary privatization, not privatization forced by a poor financial-economic situation—has been 88 percent. At the same time, however, the number of weak enterprises has recently been growing faster than the number of companies that voluntarily chose the privatization path. Toward the end of September, there were 1,095 of the former and 723 of the latter.

This means that the state will not only have smaller revenues from the liquidation of enterprises (smaller direct revenues plus overdue payments to the budget) but also that the property will not be managed very efficiently. (After bankruptcy liquidation, the property is most frequently sold separately, less often, sold as a whole; after liquidation for the purpose of privatization, a given enterprise is most often leased or sold.)

The costs that accompany ownership transformations are, among others, outlays for sector research, notary fees, remuneration for consulting companies, advertising costs, and commissions paid to banks for the sale of shares. In 1992, outlays for privatization were set in the Budget Law for Z263 billion plus 4 percent of the revenues from capital privatization. In all, Z365.8 billion, or 7.6 percent in comparison with all privatization revenues, was spent for this purpose. In the 1993 Budget Law, outlays were set at the level of Z320 billion plus 4 percent of the revenues from capital privatization. That means that the outlays should not have been greater than Z594 billion.

Future of Petroleum-Refining Industry

PM1204081094 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 6 Apr 94 p 4

[Article by "hen": "The Petroleum Business"]

[Text] Unless Polish petroleum refineries are thoroughly modernized, they will not be able to stand up to competition from Western petroleum concerns after 1997. The capital investment projects required for their modernization will amount to \$3-3.5 million. If we fail to find enough money to finance these, it is possible that the entire petroleum refining industry will have to be liquidated. The refineries themselves should be able to produce a significant share of the funds. Modernization is a much more urgent priority for this sector of the economy than ownership transformations.

This view is shared by the leadership teams heading our industry sectors. An intersectoral group set up by the prime minister will elaborate a project of restructuring the petroleum-extracting and -refining industry, which is expected to require about 100 trillion zlotys [Z]. Experts believe that the banks, together with petroleum refineries, which at present make profits on the order of 15 percent, will be able to produce this sum over the next few years. There is no shortage of opinions claiming that, if the petroleum sector were to be privatized, the budget's losses would overtake the revenues from the sale of selected elements of this industry to foreign concerns. Only partial privatization would be considered. The state does not intend to willingly relinquish control over the fuels market and its development strategy.

Foreign concerns are not particularly interested in participating in the modernization of Polish petroleum refineries. They find the prospect of taking over our fuel market a much more attractive proposition. The Central

Agency for Petroleum Products remains the largest purveyor of fuels in Poland, selling them at 1,370 gas stations throughout the country. Private distributors sell much less gas, despite the fact that they have as many as 2,500 gas stations. Foreign petroleum concerns invest increasingly large sums of money in the development of the retail distribution network. Recently, 16 large fuel stations were built by foreign petroleum companies, including three by Esso and six by the Neste concern. The U.S. petroleum concern Conoco is very active in Poland. To date, it has built four fuel stations in Poland. A fifth station is currently being built in Radom, and the construction of another three—in Czechowice-Dziedzice, Tychy, and Lublin—is to be launched in the next few weeks. The Conoco concern has already invested some \$7 million in the expansion of its retail distribution network in Poland.

Work of Economic Intelligence Agencies Viewed

PM1204131494 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 5 Apr 94

[Interview with Leslaw Farner, representative of the Economic Information Agency (AIG) in Szczecin, by Pawel Winiarski; place and date not given; from pages 1 and 5 of the Business section]

[Text] [Winiarski] The legal situation of firms providing services as so-called economic intelligence agencies is rather unclear. Where does economic information end and spying begin?

[Farner] Indeed, the legal status of economic intelligence agencies in Poland is not specified in definitive detail. However, this is also the consequence of the fact that many other things in our economy have not been properly legally defined. Economic intelligence agencies are not particularly loved anywhere in the world, but their role in the stabilization of the economy is nonetheless appreciated. Their existence minimizes the risk inherent in all economic initiatives that require cooperation with one, several, or even more contractors or subcontractors. Economic intelligence agencies make it their business to gather generally accessible information about such firms and to analyze their findings. Their conclusions can provide a basis for deciding whether to enter into cooperation or terminate negotiations.

[Winiarski] What does "generally accessible information" mean?

[Farner] It means information that reports companies' turnover, profitability, and credit rating, and supplies lists of their contractors and subcontractors as well as regular clients. The better these data look, the more attractive the given firm's business image, which in turn helps to make business contacts and secure new contracts. In Poland, that sort of information is often deliberately withheld and made "classified" by the firms themselves, which usually does more harm than good. A business partner who has something to hide is simply not very credible. Of course, I refer here to information that

should not be kept secret. Consequently, many firms, both Polish and foreign, use the services of economic intelligence agencies not in order to analyze the available information but to obtain it in the first place. This secrecy undermines the credibility of many Polish enterprises.

[Winiarski] So you believe that all information should be for sale?

[Farner] Most emphatically not! Paradoxically, our companies do not attach any importance to the protection of information that is really essential to their interests. I am thinking here mainly of technological processes and information networks and data bases that can be penetrated very easily, without even needing to enter company premises. There are firms in our country that pursue such activity in the guise of economic intelligence agencies. That is a most dangerous phenomenon.

[Winiarski] Do Polish companies often turn to firms like the AIG to secure their help in checking out foreign, or even domestic, contacts?

[Farner] In my view, they do it far too seldom, and even when they do turn to us, it is usually five minutes before they are due to sign a contract. That is when the real trouble starts. It is only large companies, with properly developed marketing networks, that have come to appreciate the "preventive" role of economic intelligence agencies and use their help from the very start of the negotiating process. This not only allows them to save time but also saves them a lot of money. The truth is that, unless we begin to treat our own money seriously, we are bound to lose it.

We still need some time before we can come to appreciate that truth properly. Nevertheless, even now there are some discernible changes for the better in our economic landscape. The number of fraudulent operations actually carried out or attempted in our business circles is decreasing, although it is still difficult to check out and assess the credibility of business partners with 100-percent certainty. We are still waiting to see the creation of trade and industrial organizations, membership of which would be tantamount to a guarantee of a company's credibility and reliability. It is also quite hard to put proper information dossiers together in our circumstances and to build up adequate data bases for economic analysis.

[Winiarski] So how do you solve this problem?

[Farner] During the three years our firm has been in operation, we have collected information on nearly 800,000 economic entities throughout Poland. We have

standing cooperation agreements with 15,000 partners, and we have accumulated a considerable pool of information on foreign firms operating in our country. This gives us a significant overall bank of information, which enables us to carry out many commissions thoroughly and accurately. It also helps us in work involving finalization of completed negotiation processes before the signing of final contracts. This sometimes enables us to save our client firms from getting into serious trouble.

[Winiarski] Have you handled such cases in our region?

[Farner] Yes, there were several such cases here. Not long ago, a Szczecin manufacturing plant was virtually on the eve of finalizing a rather large contract for the amount of \$100,000 with a foreign partner. The name of the foreign company sounded good, and its letterhead looked impressive, but the Polish firm still turned to us—at the last moment—to check out its potential partner's credibility. And what did we find? It was a typical front company, intending to cheat the Polish partner. Fortunately, we were able to ascertain this before the final contract was signed.

[Winiarski] So what guidelines should our companies follow before they move to finalize any business transactions?

[Farner] First of all, they should adopt the principle that "a lack of confidence in a potential partner means that you take your own interests seriously." They must not be impressed by the way the partner's representatives look and dress, by their cars, the equipment and interior design of their offices, or their declarations of a splendid financial condition. Everything should be checked and cross-checked several times over, and expert assistance should be sought for that.

[Winiarski] But where are the trustworthy experts to be found? After all, you admitted yourself that there are occasional black sheep among economic intelligence agencies.

[Farner] There is no precise recipe here. One possible successful method of choosing such a partner is through the grapevine—that is, obtaining a report on the work of an economic intelligence agency from people who have used its services before. And it is definitely essential to make use of their services, just as it is essential to treat one's money seriously and not invest it in risky undertakings. It is not enough to find a potential partner; you must still sign a satisfactory contract with him, which will offer a good chance of profitable business to both sides. Business dealings require not only mutual respect but also mutual confidence. However, you have to work hard to secure both.

Ministry Denies Hosting 'Arafat-Peres Meeting

AU1104114494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] In connection with the news item broadcast last night by the Israeli Television and quoted by AFP, according to which a meeting between PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat and Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres will be held in Bucharest on 15 April, a possibility assessed by Palestinian sources in Tunis as not very likely, our correspondent Eugen Baboi, who is accredited to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, contacted Ministry spokesman Mircea Geoana, who said the following: The Romanian Foreign Ministry has no knowledge of such an event. The Foreign Ministry sent an invitation to 'Arafat and Peres to participate in the proceedings of the Crans Montana Forum that will be held in Bucharest on 21-24 April, but it is still waiting for confirmation regarding the participation of the two officials. Therefore, the Romanian side cannot comment on the information regarding an 'Arafat-Peres meeting in Bucharest on 15 April because it has no knowledge of such a meeting.

Iraq Releases Four Romanians From Prison

AU1104120294 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Four Romanian citizens who had been condemned in Iraq for entering that country illegally were released this morning from a prison near the Iraqi capital of Baghdad. The pardon decree was signed last night by Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, following a request by Romanian President Ion Iliescu.

A press release received from the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs notes that the message addressed in this respect by the head of the Romanian state to his Iraqi counterpart was handed over yesterday to Iraqi Prime Minister Ahmad Husayn Khudayir by Marcel Dinu, secretary of state with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and special envoy of Romania's president.

The names of the four citizens are Danila Dumitru, Nicolae Aghachi, Florin Boiga, and Gabriel Encea. The formalities for bringing the four of them back to Romania with the assistance of the TAROM company are being completed by the Romanian Foreign Ministry through Romania's embassies in Baghdad and Amman. Their arrival in Bucharest is scheduled for 13 April at 1400 on a TAROM flight from Amman.

Belgium's Claes Holds Talks, Cuts Visit Short

AU0804193094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 8 Apr 94

[Text] Willy Claes, Belgian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, held several meetings with Romanian officials today. During this morning's meeting with Senate President Oliviu Gherman the guest withdrew for a few minutes for a telephone conversation, trying to

reach UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali to discuss the serious worsening of the situation in Rwanda. Ten Belgian UN troops were killed in the Kigali incidents.

Also at the meeting with the president of the Senate, which was devoted to discussions about the political and economic situation in our country, prospects for the Partnership for Peace, and relations with the European Union, Claes announced that he will cut his visit short to participate, together with his colleagues, in a government meeting in Brussels that will examine the situation in Rwanda.

Our correspondent also informed us that in a second round of official talks this morning between Claes and Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu, the sides examined international issues, particularly the issue of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Melescanu briefed his counterpart on his contacts in Athens and the visits to Bucharest of Presidents Slobodan Milosevic and Suleyman Demirel; he also discussed the Romanian position regarding the need to involve Bosnian Serbs in the peace process.

The sides also examined developments in the former Soviet Union, especially in the Russian Federation and Ukraine. The Romanian side also informed the guest about aspects of our relations with neighboring countries: Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Republic of Moldova. Willy Claes noted that one of the major elements in addressing developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina is the UN sanctions policy. The Belgian guest expressed the view that it was imperative to reach an accord on the three approaches to this issue: the American, the Russian, and the European Community's.

The two foreign ministers also examined aspects of the Partnership for Peace and the Balladur Pact. Belgium believes that an enlarged Europe is also a stable Europe.

After the talks, the two foreign ministers signed the joint political declaration between Romania and the Kingdom of Belgium. Mr. Melescanu was invited to pay a visit to Belgium.

PSM Congress Concludes; President Reelected

AU1104083494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0400 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] The second congress of the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM], which concluded in Bucharest on 10 April, reelected Ilie Verdet to the position of president of this political formation. The Steering Council of the party also includes the following members: Adrian Paunescu, first deputy president, and Tudor Mohora, Traian Dudas, Maria Lazar, Nicolae Ontanu, Mihai Paraluta, and Ion Sasu, vice presidents.

The congress adopted two motions. One proposes that the parliament adopt a law on the need for the state to grant compensation to former owners and to grant

tenants the right to purchase flats that they currently occupy. The second motion asks all bodies of the current leadership to free all political detainees, that is, deputy members of the Executive Political Committee of the former Romanian Communist Party and to eliminate all forms of instigation to hatred, revenge, and extremism.

In his statement to Bucharest Radio station, party President Ilie Verdet affirmed that the proposed objectives have been achieved and, as far as the election of the new leadership bodies of the party are concerned, the goal was to renew them by admitting younger people to the ranks of the party. One can state, said Ilie Verdet in conclusion, that the PSM is a new and democratic party, suitable for entering the competition for ruling.

Pardon for Three Ethnic Hungarians Overruled

AU1204113894 Bucharest *EVERIMENTUL ZILEI* in Romanian 6 Apr 94 p 1

[Bogdana Paun report: "Three of the Ethnic Hungarians Pardoned by Iliescu Have Not Been Released From Jail"]

[Text] Three of the eight ethnic Hungarian convicts who were pardoned by Ion Iliescu, namely Istvan Illyes, Ferenc Boldizsar (both inhabitants of the village of Zetea), and Mihaly Balint (of Cristuru Secuiesc), have not been released from jail, although their names were also mentioned in the presidential pardon.

In the case of the three named persons, the presidential initiative was overruled by the Alba Iulia City Court. The reason given was the unfavorable report of the Aiud penitentiary direction. The report cites an attempted breakout (Illyes), the slapping of the face of a cellmate (Balint), and the gravity of the crime for which he was convicted (Boldizsar).

All three have appealed the Alba Iulia Court decision.

"The UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] lawyers and parliamentarians will take all possible legal steps to have them released and to have the presidential decree applied in their case as well," says a UDMR communique.

Iliescu Comments on Domestic, Foreign Issues

AU1104133094 Bucharest *DIMINEATA Supplement* in Romanian 26 Mar-2 Apr p 4

[Interview with Romanian President Ion Iliescu by Polish Television representatives; place and date not given: "There Is No Other Way But To Further Consolidate the Democratic Organization of Society and Promote Economic Reforms and the Transition to the Market Economy"]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. President, a few months ago you said that the atmosphere in Europe is more favorable toward Romania. Would you still say that today?

[Iliescu] Yes, generally speaking I would say that this is still valid today, despite the fact that new elements of tension have emerged in Bosnia and Yugoslavia and that we are faced with a tense moment in our domestic political life, linked to the ongoing negotiations among the parties. However, regarding the overall perception of Romania in Europe, I would say that my assessment still applies.

[Reporter] What can you tell us about the internal atmosphere currently prevailing in Romania?

[Iliescu] There are two elements. First, the difficult situation of the economy and the people's social and living conditions. There has been a general deterioration in the past four years, due to the dismantling of the internal structures of the former centralized economic system and the transition to the market economy, which is a most complicated and difficult process. Second, there is the international aspect of our economic relations, characterized by the disappearance of our traditional markets and of our traditional sources of energy and raw materials. All this has created a very difficult situation for our economy. To all this, one should add the external sources of tension—such as Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union, or the loss of the traditional markets in the Arab countries, in the wake of the Gulf crisis—and the general world recession and economic crisis. All this has had a most unfavorable impact on our economy. Right now, our industry only works at half capacity, unemployment has become a widespread phenomenon, with more than 1 million people out of a job, and inflation is growing at an intensive pace. All this has led to the deterioration of the people's living standard and is a source of social tension and dissatisfaction for the population. The second aspect refers to the political situation. After the last elections, the Parliament has acquired a structure that does not allow any party to have a majority and form a stable government.

[Reporter] Does that mean that the government does not have a majority in Parliament?

[Iliescu] It does not. The party that supports the government only has 34 percent of the seats in Parliament. It is the largest number of Parliament seats obtained by a single party. Consequently, we tried to put together a coalition platform after the last elections held in the fall of 1992. I even suggested the creation of a national unity government, with the representation and involvement of all political parties. At that time, I thought that, in view of the difficult conditions of the country, that initiative would have been useful and might have constituted a political signal for the readiness of all political forces to make a common effort. However, the opposition parties did not accept my proposal. They wanted to join the government, provided that they held the "levers of power," as Mr. Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], said, that is, they wanted to hold all instruments that would enable them to control the power. But how can one control all levers if one does not have the majority in

Parliament? One must achieve certain relations and understandings and even a coalition with other parties. Consequently, we did not manage to form a coalition and not even a political pact of all parties—something that I suggested at the time—as a foundation and framework for cooperation, as happened in Spain with the Moncloa Pact. Such round tables and talks took place even in Poland and Hungary, where a kind of political accord was struck among the political forces there. But all these proposals were rejected and we were obliged to form a minority government, which has always had to perform some balancing act in order to promote the legislative initiatives. In the past two-three months, I have tried to initiate new dialogues with all political parties in this respect.

[Reporter] How do you assess these dialogues?

[Iliescu] It was good, sincere, and open dialogue, and, what is more, it was my dialogue with all the political parties. A round table is now going on among the parties, since reaching an understanding should be the result of consultations among the parties. I am not a partner in political discussions among the parties. I have only mediated this dialogue. The Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR], which supports the government, is now engaged in such negotiations. We will see what the final result of these discussions is going to be.

[Reporter] What can you tell us about the trade unions?

[Iliescu] This is the second aspect of the problem. In this climate of social tensions, the trade unions are obviously very active and there have been movements, strikes, claims, and so forth. However, I believe that all this has also had a positive aspect. I have personally met with the representatives of the three most important trade union federations and we conducted a pretty civilized dialogue. They are now conducting talks with the government representatives to finalize the problem of the collective contracts for this year. There are many claims, of which quite a few are pretty unrealistic, in view of the real situation, but there are also certain positive elements. The trade unions have declared their endorsement for the Memorandum with the IMF, but at the same time they are asking for social compensations that are not realistic in view of our current possibilities. Therefore, all this should be discussed and negotiated and I believe that such talks could be held right now.

[Reporter] Who, in your opinion, holds the true power in Romania?

[Iliescu] It depends on what you mean by that, since our country is now organized on democratic bases and it has a democratic Constitution, which includes all elements characteristic of a democratic state. There are concrete provisions in connection with the role of each element of power: the Parliament, with its prerogatives, the government, as an executive body, the presidency, as a mediating element between the levers of power, and so forth.

We have this scheme of our country's organization and there is no concentration of power in the hands of a single person or institution.

[Reporter] What do you think about the discontent among Romania's population?

[Iliescu] It is a normal reaction. When a country's economy collapses, you cannot improve living standards. It is obvious that people are not satisfied with explanations alone, since a popular revolt took place in Romania—a social explosion which characterized the Romanian revolution of December 1989—and the most important reason for that revolt was the low level of the living standard. Of course, everybody accepts the idea that we have more freedom and democracy, but they are dissatisfied with the fact that the living standard has not gone up. This is obvious to everyone. However, we must take into consideration the objective situation and openly discuss it: There is no other way but to further consolidate the democratic organization of society and promote economic reforms and the transition to the market economy. But all this requires effort, work, and social discipline as well as the acceptance of this reality by everyone.

[Reporter] Is this your perception of the new democracy?

[Iliescu] I do not understand what you mean by that.

[Reporter] There are new democracies in all our countries, in Poland, Romania, and the former Soviet Union. You said that this is the road toward the new democracy, am I right?

[Iliescu] By new democracy—since democracy has existed before, in history—I mean the existence of the new reality of the state's democratic organizations, since we did not have democracy before, in our country. It was the monopoly of a single party, since we had a totalitarian regime here and a dictatorship of a single family and single man. Hence, one cannot talk of democracy in our country. Now, we have entered a new stage of our development—a democratic stage for the Romanian society.

[Reporter] You once said that Romania is isolated in Europe, but Romania is a member of the Council of Europe, it is the first country that signed the Partnership for Peace scheme, and so forth. Do you still maintain that your country is isolated in Europe?

[Iliescu] I have never said Romania was isolated. This may be the interpretation of others. We may be more or less pleased with the level of our relations and links with other states of international political forces, but I do not think and never thought that Romania has been isolated in this period. There is, of course, the issue of the range of our relations. Now, this is another aspect, linked to the development of our relations and the degree of trust extant on the continent. I noted many similar expressions of discontent from many leaders or political forces from Eastern or Central Europe in connection with the

support received from the West. Even Mr. Lech Walesa has often expressed his discontent with Western support and the West's real opening toward our countries, which are now going through such a very difficult period of changes. Mr. Vaclav Klaus, the prime minister of Czechoslovakia [as published]—one of the countries with the best situations in this respect, which has not faced the same difficulties as Romania—is still displeased with the climate of cooperation with the West. The Western countries have developed a kind of protection screen vis-a-vis our countries. I said that at a meeting of the World Economic Forum held in Crans-Montana, last year: I said that the last chance for the Western countries currently going through an economic recession as well as for us is to open economic relations between us and to grant each other mutual support for the economic recovery in our countries.

This would be a chance for the West to overcome the present economic situation. We will thus be able to say that we all have the political strength to revise and inaugurate a new philosophy and perception as well as a new understanding of the economic relations among all the European countries. We have overcome the "iron curtain" in political, military, and ideological relations, but we are witnessing the raising of a new economic curtain. We must overcome this situation, too, so as to create better conditions for our economic relations, on the basis of equal partnership. I said that, if the West looks upon our countries only as a hinterland for the developed countries and a potential market for their products and not as equal partners, both of us will suffer. We must jointly build a new community of equal partnership on our continent.

[Reporter] How do you see your integration in Europe's political and cultural life?

[Iliescu] I believe that this will be achieved by life itself, since all our countries are European and European history and culture is the synthesis of all national cultures and histories of all European countries. After a long separation in two parts, we will have to build a new Europe, a new united Europe, which can make use of all these assets and all this patrimony of our culture.

[Reporter] What is your opinion about the relations between Romania and Poland?

[Iliescu] I believe that we have a very good tradition of relations throughout history and we can say that our countries have gone through some very troubled times. Our nations have had to suffer throughout history because of the great European powers. We are situated in this part of Europe, where the interests of three great European powers, which dominated this region, met: the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Russian one. For several centuries on end, we suffered because of this foreign domination. In its turn, Poland did not have a better situation either, since its geographical position placed it between two large empires, the Russian and German one. Therefore, there are many

similarities between our destinies in this respect. At the same time, there have been mutual sentiments of solidarity between our countries during some very difficult moments of our history and I can say that the Romanian people have always nurtured sentiments of friendship, empathy, and solidarity for the Polish people. I believe we should use this tradition to the benefit of both countries. At this point, we are going through similar difficult moments in our history, since we are building the new structure of our democratic states and an economy that must be efficient, competitive, and useful for our nations. All this will be achieved with great efforts. In these circumstances, our cooperation can be useful for both our countries and I believe that we have a lot to do to improve the cooperation between us. I believe that there is room for us to make a greater contribution—I am particularly referring to the political forces and leaders of our countries—to building a network of cooperation in all respects, that is the political, economic, social, cultural, scientific, and human spheres.

[Reporter] Who in Romania wants the return of King Mihai?

[Iliescu] You know, at this time of change, when we are faced with great hardships, many people look back and think that it was better in the past. We have all sorts of people struck by nostalgia—people longing for the near past, which is not considered as having been democratic, but which provided greater stability for the people and a kind of social protection; and people longing for our country's pre-war past. The latter see the monarchy as a solution for Romania, but I believe that we should be looking forward, not backward. The only way for us is to go toward the future, not the past.

[Reporter] What is your opinion about the nostalgia—or maybe we should call it empathy—for Marshal Antonescu [Romanian dictator during World War II]?

[Iliescu] Again, it has to do with people longing for the past. Of course, we must write an objective history of our country, since it has been deformed. Antonescu is a very controversial figure. For some people, he was a hero, because he led the country at a very critical moment, when our country was threatened from the outside, after the dictatorship of King Carol II was demolished and the fascist-Iron Guardist elements came to power, with Antonescu's help. Antonescu was the savior of the Romanian state at that time and he also took the decision to liberate the territories occupied by the Soviet Union. Therefore, he is considered a historical hero by some people, who nevertheless ignore the fact that Antonescu was also an ally of fascist Germany and of the Romanian fascists, with whose help he took over power. They also disregard the fact that he pushed Romania not only into the war against the Soviet Union, but also against the coalition of democratic states, and that he is responsible for that before history. However, there will still be many controversies on this subject.

[Reporter] Is it possible to achieve unification between Moldova and Romania and when will this happen?

[Iliescu] This is a matter of history. We have to take realities into consideration. Of course, from a historical and legal viewpoint, the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was an erroneous decision and measure that led to the domination of this part of Europe by both fascist Germany and the Soviet Union. At the same time, we must also take into account the circumstances of the post-war period and the existing international documents on the stability of borders and the integrity of the present states. These are also realities that we must accept. One should also take into consideration the emotional aspect, that is the subjective sentiments referring to our history and theories as well as the feelings referring to our fellow nationals living beyond the country's borders. However, in politics one should also take reality into consideration. The same applies to Poland: The problem of territories that have changed hands during history cannot be resolved only with sentiments, but must be examined with great realism.

[Reporter] In your capacity as president of Romania, how do you see your country's future?

[Iliescu] I see it in the only possible way one can see such things, that is optimistically. We must preserve our hope in a better evolution for our country and I believe that we have good reason to do so. We have a good human potential, which represents the basic element of the evolution of contemporary society. Despite the difficulties facing us, I have trust in our people's potential, creativity, and capacity to overcome all difficulties and integrate Romania in the civilized world.

[Reporter] I wish you all the best. Thank you.

Nastase Discusses PDSR Doctrine, Ideology

AU0804133994 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian
1 Apr 94 p 3

[Interview with Adrian Nastase, executive president of the Social Democracy Party of Romania and president of the Chamber of Deputies of Romania's Parliament, by Ion Pavelescu; place and date not given: "A Modern Social Democracy; A Normal Parliamentary Life"]

[Excerpts]

Human Rights, an End of Century Religion

[Pavelescu] Mr. President, do you believe that the world should know more about one of the most important people in the leadership of this country?

[Nastase] To tell you the truth, for quite some time now I have not been approached with such questions as "What have you done in the past four years?" Still, if you wish to know more about me, I am ready to tell you. I was born in Bucharest on 22 June 1950, under the sign of Cancer, a terrible sign for those who choose politics for their field of activity. [passage omitted]

[Pavelescu] Now, I will approach you in your capacity as president of the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania]. Recently you have embarked fully on the activity of organizing this political formation. You have paid visits in provinces and attended symposiums. All this leads to the impending question: People said of your party that it was established instantaneously around the president of Romania Ion Iliescu, whose immense prestige permitted the party to achieve stability very quickly, on a somehow sentimental basis. What is left of the initial feeling and what are the current goals?

[Nastase] Certainly there is still immense sympathy for Mr. Ion Iliescu, who has assumed the responsibility to pull Romania out of the crisis and certain people, not able to discredit him, resort to the uncivilized means of insults. Only a person who possesses such qualities as the head of our state, democratic through his entire structure, tolerant and conciliatory, can continue untouched by these ignoble attacks. But since you have referred to the party and its destiny, I will give you a frank answer. No political formation can survive if it does not construct its structures and activity on modern bases. After the [December 1989] revolution, some associations were set up that were mostly against rather than in favor of something. The FSN [National Salvation Front] itself was against the past, super-centralized dictatorship in the economy, suffocated in politics, like a house that has not been aired for a long time and which the rejuvenating flow of life has not penetrated. The Civic Alliance was established in the same way. This is to give you just two examples. All these structures can no longer resist the new conditions. As far as we are concerned, the change of name that took place at our party's last congress, from FDSN [Democratic National Salvation Front] into PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] was not only a formal modification but it was conceived as a fundamental change in our way of thinking and in our actions. We wished to establish an intelligent party that has its own message to promote.

We Have an Economic Concept That Is Capable of Inspiring Dynamism and Efficiency in Our Society

[Pavelescu] Now, we are going to talk about a sensitive area, namely about ideas. On what doctrine do you base your activity?

[Nastase] It is definitely the modern social-democratic doctrine, that so many social-democratic parties in Europe and in the world follow. It has been emphatically stated that social democracy does not have its own concept in the economic area. This is a completely false idea. In Europe at least, social-democracy has formed its own school of managers and has experts capable of conferring dynamism to economic life and inspiring the motivating force that is necessary in our century. One should not assign a purely social component to social-democracy. This would look as if in the same society there were two models of society, one for production and another one for distribution of production. This could be

compared to a car with two engines and two steering-wheels. This is absurd. We have one single concept, which we could call an integrating one, which is capable of incorporating the economic, managerial, and social-human progress in one and the same vision. In fact, we define more precisely the relationship between individual and the productive sphere. Likewise, we have an individual concept about economic areas or sectors and about the area of production, and services. The way in which we regard things allows us to introduce new, individual elements in our social-economic life and not elements borrowed from abroad. [passage omitted]

[Pavelescu] Thus, could we assume that the PDSR views itself as a party which, through its program and its activity, constantly wishes to ensure the economic and social modernization of the country, in order to eliminate the remnants of the excessive centralism of the past and to create new sources of dynamism in both areas?

[Nastase] This could be a good definition for a continuously changing reality.

[Pavelescu] But what are we going to do about those who dispute all this? They continue to accuse you of every possible sin or charge you with the most extravagant intentions....

[Nastase] We have lived too long in the atmosphere of clashes between socialism and capitalism. Thus, we got used to answering questions about the future only with terms created in this confrontation. But this seems to me to be a simplistic and incorrect attitude. Socialism has an emotional impact on fewer and fewer people. On the other hand, capitalism still seems to us permeated with too many negative connotations at the political and social level for it to represent the miraculous key or the magic word with a strong magnetic force. Through our ideology, we have found solutions for the better organization of relations between individual and society. This is the essence of our concept. How do we regard this relationship? We cannot formulate it correctly without also referring to the role of the state. We believe that at least for the transition period, the state has an important role to play. We cannot pretend that all that is happening in the area of production relations does not concern us.

[Pavelescu] At a symposium organized at Poiana Brasov, Mr. Mircea Cosea [chairman of the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform] made a speech in which he drew attention to the fact that the concept of the market economy must be applied in such a way that the ordinary individual should regard it as a necessity. Was he speaking on behalf of the PDSR?

[Nastase] This is a rhetorical question. Certainly, Mr. Cosea included in his idea the party whose member he is. At the same time, referring to the market economy as if we had a choice, is wrong. The market economy has been implemented all around us. We cannot stay isolated. It would be as if we were to choose another rail gauge for our engines. This is inconceivable. The problem however is that we should work in a way that could make people

perceive other effects, not only the negative effects of this economy, such as the increase of prices, inflation, and unemployment.

Optimal Conditions for Competition, for Contest

[Pavelescu] Do you have a solution?

[Nastase] There are solutions. I was not the one who invented them. Optimal conditions must be created for economic competition. We should eliminate monopolies that generate high and disproportionate prices, bureaucracy, and corruption. However, we can see a vicious circle here. We need restructuring and financial sources to permit the development of industries, and they, in turn, can establish the framework for the operation of the laws of competition. This is our understanding of the way in which we can emerge from the current impasse. And we have to do it alone. Nobody will work for us. [passage omitted]

[Pavelescu] Mr. President, how do you explain that while you remain a party that is closely connected with the 1989 December revolution, thus not marked by the defects of the past, your influence in universities is still poor?

[Nastase] There is a very simple explanation for this. Certain university teachers, who were also part of the old structures, have repainted their past, have bluffed and continue to bluff, and attract students. This situation is anomalous. Students all over the world are basically left-oriented. Only in our country have the students' opinions deviated.

[Pavelescu] And God forbid that a basically right-wing concept should penetrate the students' world.

[Nastase] You are right. We are trying to get closer to this section. Basically, their interests are closely connected with those that we are fighting for. We are going to establish a Youth Forum. The university group will play an important role in this forum.

[Pavelescu] Considering that yours is such a young party, you have not had time to take care of other, important social strata of the electorate. Why, for example should so many women vote for the PD(FSN) [Democratic Party (National Salvation Front)] when, as a matter of fact, that party has brought them only disappointment?

[Nastase] I believe that in principle our viewpoints come quite close. We intend to organize a PDSR Women's Association. In general terms, due to past frustrations and due to our negligence—I have to be frank here—the proportion of women in the structure of our leadership is insignificant. By all means, we will correct this mistake. And you will see that the number of women ready to join us will increase. The days when people voted on the basis of feelings are gone. This is certain.

[Pavelescu] What type of organizational formula have you adopted?

[Nastase] Those that are included in our statute: local organizations, coordination councils, the executive bureau, and the standing delegation. We continually follow aspects that are gradually becoming our distinctive features: representation and democracy.

The PDSR Has Become and Will Remain a Political Force

[Pavelescu] Therefore, can one say that the PDSR has become a powerful force?

[Nastase] One can say that. Why not? And it will continue to grow stronger. We need a few months to organize our strategy. We will increase our activity in the provinces. In the coming period, Mr. Oliviu Gherman [PDSR president] and other members of the party leadership will participate in activities that are aimed at enhancing the organization of our branches in the provinces, will hold theoretical debates with a practical character, and will disseminate our precise message.

[Pavelescu] Thus, those who consider the PDSR a party of pedants are mistaken!...

[Nastase] They are utterly mistaken. We are a militant party. If this characteristic does not take concrete shape in what Mihai Eminescu [Romanian poet] called "ugly street scenes" it is because we detest the idea of turning the street into a place where political disputes are solved. However, those who mistake our good manners for weakness are wrong. What is new and noteworthy in our activity is the combination of joint actions, with the participation of party cadres and, considering that we are the ruling party, with the members of the executive. This fact is beneficial for two reasons. The FSN made a mistake in leaving the government in charge of dialogue on all issues after the May 1990 election. The party felt in a way neglected. We wish to make good this error. Therefore, we approach the local party organizations with groups of people that include both members of the party and of the executive. The government members can only gain from seeing everything on the spot. The members of the party leadership can also only gain when they take over a part of the responsibility.

[Pavelescu] A modern party, with a clear message, and with viable structures, thus a party that is constantly increasing its mobilizing force—is this the way you want to appear in the eye of the public?

[Nastase] This is more or less what we are and this is definitely what we want to become!

We Try To Find Ways for Cooperation With All Political Forces in the Parliament

[Pavelescu] I am going to approach you now in your capacity as president of the Chamber of Deputies of the Romanian Parliament. Is it only our impression or are you really annoyed with the Chamber?

[Nastase] Annoyed might be a little too strong an expression. Dissatisfied, yes. And I have reason to be. An

atmosphere that is at variance with the rules for a proper functioning of such an institution has been established in the Chamber of Deputies. There are deputies who are absent without any reason. Others ask their friends to sign the attendance book for them. Therefore, often we do not have the necessary number of deputies to adopt certain laws. However, I have to tell you something else. If you ask any president of a Chamber of Deputies, you will see that they have the same reasons for discontent. A parliament often looks like an undisciplined structure, a machine that is working to no avail. However, a very important aspect can be overlooked: We, at the level of parliament, absorb a great amount of tension which would otherwise overflow the streets with consequences that would be difficult to estimate.

[Pavelescu] I am not concealing the impression that a part of the public perceives things a little differently. The impression exists that we are witnessing two types of blockage: an economic and a legislative blockage, which fuel each other. What is your view on this issue?

[Nastase] This is an exaggeration. You should not forget that the parliament is also a sort of mirror of the nation's wishes, its symbol. If the nation had wanted a parliament in which the PDSR held 51 percent of the deputies and senators, the nation would have acted accordingly. But the nation chose the current situation and we have to respect its will. [passage omitted]

[Pavelescu] You have initiated a dialogue in which, willingly or unwillingly, virtually all political forces representing the parliamentary spectrum participated. Are you pleased with it?

[Nastase] Do you want a sincere answer? We believe that it was a good idea. As a matter of fact, dialogue should become a regular component of the public life in Romania. It is sad that some people considered it as an exceptional case. We tried to carry out a certain inter-party exercise of democracy. Because apart from our options, we are also duty-bound to cooperate in order to reach our well-defined goals and stop what used to be called the cold war after the elections.

[Pavelescu] Have you had any results so far?

[Nastase] I believe so. For example, we succeed in changing at least our way of approaching others. Therefore, when Mr. Dinu Patriciu [prominent leader of the Liberal Party '93] so rudely attacked the entire PDSR, it was easy for us to isolate him, to turn it into an example and not a rule. And please note that we have not identified for a moment the whole Liberal Party '93 with the respective deputy. In any event, we will not hold talks with him before he apologizes. However, the dialogue had exceptional results from another aspect. It changed the image of the PDSR. The party that has been labelled in every possible way, has proved that it has been accepted indeed. Thus, the effort was worthwhile.

[Pavelescu] The Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] accuses you of preparing for early elections. To what extent is this affirmation true or false?

[Nastase] Certain parties—for example the PD(FSN)—have publicly announced their intention to induce early elections. Other parties, including the CDR, are preparing for those elections although they are apprehensive about the future. In these conditions we would be naive just to stand aside and wait. As we have declared, we consider this solution of early elections as the worst and the most uninspired one. It would block us for a while without offering anything to anybody in exchange. However, if we are faced with such an alternative, we will act accordingly. Nevertheless, I believe that the position we expressed publicly was not properly understood.

[Pavelescu] What are you referring to?

[Nastase] I am referring to the need that before early general elections early, local elections should be organized. I am saying this because a somewhat paradoxical situation has been created. At the last local elections we were not a party. Therefore, among the leaders of counties and of Bucharest sectors, many people who are members of the Democratic Convention or members of the PD(FSN) were elected. It is clear that early general elections will be organized with the same competing ideas, thus the results can already be anticipated. Therefore, we are going to propose a modification of the law on public administration and the electoral law, so that our representation corresponds to the proportion of the electorate that votes for us. Any form of action aimed at undermining this procedure will be interpreted only as a measure of "arrogant egoism" just to quote Roman [PD(FSN) leader].

[Pavelescu] Mr. President, since you have been so patient with us, we cannot resist the temptation to ask you a question that will probably seem to you inappropriate. Do you believe that the UDMR [Democratic

Union of Hungarians in Romania] has committed itself to obstructing the leadership forever?

[Nastase] I am going to answer you truthfully. Recently in Cluj I addressed this formation and asked them to show a more reasonable attitude. Well, let me tell you that I received a number of positive signs. This means that your question was not exactly inappropriate.

Nastase Said To Recruit Army Chiefs for PDSR

AUI204103294 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 6 Apr 94 p 4

[Radu Stefanescu report: "PDSR Is Forcing the Politicization of the Romanian Army"]

[Text] The leadership of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR], in the person of its executive chairman, Adrian Nastase, has begun a sustained offensive intended to politically enroll the Romanian Army. This action of the ruling party is openly backed by Minister of National Defense Gheorghe Tinca and tacitly supported by the head of the general chief of staff, Lieutenant General Dumitru Cioflina.

During the recent electoral tour of Adrian Nastase, also nicknamed "Sweety" [Bombonel], he tried to make the army division heads and even the army commanders join the PDSR. Specific similar cases were reported in Buzau and Craiova.

After a strong rapprochement with the East, Gheorghe Tinca accepts the excessive politicization of the army personally attending to the PDSR's electoral actions, along with the head of the chief of General Staff. After the elimination of [former Defense Minister] Lieutenant General Nicolae Spiroiu, the chiefs of the National Defense Ministry departments were actually expecting a concentrated counteroffensive from the PDSR. Currently that counteroffensive is stronger than ever, and the "mastermind" behind this politicization campaign being none other than Adrian Nastase, also nicknamed "Sweety."

NATO Raids on 'Serbian Territory' Protested

AU1104160194 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Report by Marica Lalovic from Pale]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Vitaliy Churkin, special Russian envoy, is expected to arrive in Pale at 1630. He will have talks with the state leadership of the Srpska republic about the latest events concerning Gorazde and a possible resumption of the peace negotiations, for which the UN forces bear further responsibility, it is said in the announcement of the supreme command of the Srpska republic. The announcement further says that a harsh protest is being issued for raiding Serbian territory around Gorazde, stressing that with this gesture, the UN has openly taken the side against Serbs in this civil war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The supreme command of the Srpska republic warns that politically motivated elements in NATO and the United Nations are encouraging Muslim attacks, so that they can take advantage of a Serbian response as an excuse for a military intervention. However, Serbs will not be frightened and they will retain the right to self-defense with all available weapons, it is said in the announcement by the supreme command.

There are still no precise reports on what is really happening around Tarcin. However, the situation is still extremely tense because Muslim radio [Sarajevo Radio] is no longer concealing the fact that several hundred Muslim refugees from eastern Bosnia have occupied the prison in Tarcin and kidnapped three Serbian inmates from it. The Tarcin prison has been blocked since Friday and it is threatened that all Serbs in it will be killed if the alleged shelling of Gorazde does not stop. The Serbian side has been demanding the closing down of Tarcin prison for some time now, but Muslim representatives have persistently refused, although at the Geneva conference they signed an agreement to release all prisoners under their control.

By the way, all humanitarian convoys and humanitarian flights on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Srpska republic have been suspended and the Serbian civil authorities have closed down all the blue roads in Sarajevo.

Churkin Meets With Karadzic in Pale

LD1104170994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in
Serbo-Croatian 1641 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 11 April (TANJUG)—Vitaliy Churkin, Russian deputy foreign minister and the Russian president's special envoy to the former Yugoslavia, arrived in Pale from Belgrade this evening.

Immediately after that, at around 1820, Churkin met with Srpska republic president Radovan Karadzic. [passage omitted]

Karadzic Statement Following Talks

AU1104210994 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in
Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] After his talks with Vitaliy Churkin, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, gave the following statement to the Serbian Television:

[Begin Karadzic recording] Well, Mr. Churkin has urgently come because of the new situation and to try to learn about the Serbian side's position. We did not want to talk much about Gorazde itself. This is purely a military question, as Gorazde is not a protected zone nor has it been defined as such. Regarding its borders or its contents, according to international war law, this should be a strictly limited zone without any army apart from the United Nations Protection Forces [UNPROFOR]. The two commanders should sign an agreement on this. The Muslims have always refused to do so, hoping to expand the Gorazde zone right up to the borders of Serbia and Sandzak, to gain much more after such a military offensive, and to ensure a green line [zelena transferzala].

We briefed Mr. Churkin on our position, which is either war or peace. It cannot be a little bit of war and a little bit of peace. It cannot be war at Kupres, in Teslic, on Mount Ozren, in Doboj, along the corridor, that is, at Trebava, southward of Brcko—everywhere where the Muslim forces are attacking us—and in Gorazde, all until we set off into a counteroffensive. And when we set off into a counteroffensive, then (everyone wants) to preserve peace and everywhere where Muslims still [word indistinct] for instance [name indistinct], (?Usora), and so on, one can calmly wage war there. Our position is that we want peace. Likewise, we said that our artillery is not shelling the town. Our aim is not the town's civilian targets. Our aim is to break up the Muslim offensive, the military defeat of the Muslim forces in Gorazde.

You shall see; hardly a few days will pass when it will be clearly told in the West. Democratic forces in the West will clearly say what interfering in this war on the side of the Muslims means, what it means responding to calls by UNPROFOR observers in Gorazde itself who are probably being shelled by the Muslims and who are probably being threatened by the Muslims, but they are certainly not threatened by the Serbs. In any case, this is a very critical moment in our relations with UNPROFOR. We have suspended all relations with UNPROFOR. We do not know how we would and whether we would establish any relations in the future. Since the arrival of General Rose, these relations are marred all the time because Gen. Rose sometimes forgets—as we have informed Mr. Akashi in several letters—that he is not in the Malvinas [Falkland Islands] or in an English colony; he is on Serbian territory and should behave as someone who is impartial and who must respect this people and its dignity. [end recording]

Churkin Comments on Talks

LD1104193094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1903 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—Special Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin said after the talks with Srpska republic president Radovan Karadzic in Pale this evening that "ways are being sought to restore the peace negotiations and to find a political solution to the current crisis."

President Karadzic said Russian diplomats would try to bridge the current gap between the Serb side and the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR].

The talks between Churkin and Karadzic lasted almost an hour. The Russian envoy said he was immediately leaving for Sarajevo, where he should meet UNPROFOR officials.

"I hope to return [to Pale] this evening to resume talks with president Karadzic," Churkin added.

Srpska republic president Radovan Karadzic told reporters that the previous crisis (NATO ultimatum on 20 February) had been successfully resolved owing to Churkin.

"However, now we do not know how to find a way out of this situation, but we know for certain that UNPROFOR has abused the presence of UN representatives, blamed the Serbs for the attacks, and bombed our positions," Karadzic said.

"We do not see how we can cooperate with UNPROFOR when they have sided with one of the sides in the civil war. However, the Russian diplomacy will try to bridge the gap between us and UNPROFOR," Karadzic said.

It is expected that talks between Karadzic and Churkin will be resumed later this evening after the Russian envoy returns from the Muslim part of Sarajevo.

Army Says Air Strikes Not Deterring Serbs

AU1104211794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center has announced that all information points to the fact that Generals Perisic [chief of the General Staff of the FRY Army] and Mladic are directly commanding the Serbian aggressor's offensive on Gorazde.

The immediate commander of the ground forces is Colonel Grubac, who has received orders to unconditionally continue (?attacks) and capture Gorazde. It is up to him to decide on the means of achieving this. The Chetnik warlords' intentions toward Gorazde have not been deterred by yesterday's NATO air strikes. The losses inflicted by the NATO air strikes on Chetnik positions are not significant for Perisic, Mladic, and Grubac, although the targets that were hit are obviously

important to the Chetniks and there is reliable information that they suffered losses on their side. [Words indistinct] will not say a word about this, just like they did not admit that it was their planes that were shot down over Novi Travnik at the beginning of March this year.

Information [words indistinct] must not be given out. Karadzic and Mladic have imposed an embargo on everything that is happening around Gorazde. Colonel Grubac, who has orders to capture Gorazde, did not take the NATO planes' attack as a threat. On the contrary. This is yet another in a series of motives to continue carrying out his orders. General Momcilo Perisic is chief of the General Staff of the Army of the so-called Yugoslavia, and although he and Mladic are the same generation as far as their education in military schools is concerned, when it comes to operations around Gorazde, Perisic is avoiding Mladic. He is often in contact with Colonel Grubac, who directly briefs him on all events. Perisic's obsession is the forcing of the Drina River, which is why he has sent pontoons of the so-called Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to this area. It is not excluded that in case of repeated NATO air strikes, the Chetnik forces will attempt to down them. The Chetnik persistence best shows whether and how many more planes again need to attack the aggressor's phalanx around Gorazde, states the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center.

Serbs Continue Attack

LD1104212494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Reporter's dispatch from Gorazde]

[Excerpt] This evening is no different from the previous 15 days of the chetnik offensive. The town is still being fired on while the attacks of Karadzic's followers are under way in the surrounding area. At around 1900 the attacks by aggressor's artillery from the direction of Ustipraga intensified. Immediately after that mortars fired on a central part of town.

Serb artillery was active throughout the day. Several buildings in the town have been hit, among them a building housing refugees. According to figures released by the authorities, six people had been killed and 27 wounded by 1500. [passage omitted]

'Fierce Offensive' Continues

AU1204111794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Report by Mustafa Kurtovic from the Gorazde Regional Press Center]

[Text] Despite the warnings by the international community, the overall world public, as well as the two attacks by NATO aircraft on the chetnik positions

around Gorazde, the fierce aggressor's offensive (?continues) on Gorazde battlefield with the use of the heaviest and most destructive weapons. In 15 days of (?cruel) offensive, about 200 people were killed in Gorazde, while more than (?550) were seriously wounded.

As of this morning, the aggressor has continued offensive activities. Using heavy artillery, he acted on the lines of separation and civilian districts. In the region of Ustip-raca, our [words indistinct] have registered a greater concentration of Karadzic's fascists, tanks, and other heavy weaponry. In this region, engineering works were carried out last night. Namely, the Chetniks are building new roads from (Bladilo) toward (Boronda) and from (Bojcevic) toward the lines of separation.

A great concentration of chetniks was [word indistinct] from the direction of Cajnice in the region of (?Pozara), so new, even (?fiercer) attacks on [word indistinct] are to be expected.

The situation is particularly dramatic on the right side of the Drina River where chetniks are trying to send in subversion-terrorist groups that should set fire [word indistinct] and villages on the town outskirts and kill civilians in the town itself treacherously by snipers and anti-aircraft weapons. Such a terrorist group was [word indistinct] in the region of (Travari). Yesterday afternoon, members of the 1st [name indistinct] Strike Brigade [word indistinct] a tank and truck which was full of chetniks.

As of this morning, a general danger alarm has been in force in Gorazde and has been continuously repeated so that population can be warned to keep to all measures of self-protection. [words indistinct] situation in the town itself and the (?war hospital) because [words indistinct] medicines and first aid material are lacking for two days already [words indistinct] the seriously wounded. The situation is [passage indistinct] or destroyed.

Silajdzic: Air Strikes 'Not Enough'

LD1104205494 Berlin N-TV in German 2000 GMT
11 Apr 94

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Excerpts] This afternoon NATO aircraft attacked Serb positions near the eastern Bosnian town of Gorazde for the second time in 24 hours. [passage omitted]

In the N-TV "Newspunkt" program, Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic commented on the NATO air strikes on Serb positions.

[Haris Silajdzic, in English, with superimposed German translation] "The principle is right but unfortunately it is not enough. This is not enough of a deterrent. Unfortunately there was too much hesitation, and then when finally intervention came, it was only half-hearted. Although we really welcome the work of NATO and the

United Nations, it is still not enough. I think a not very strong message was sent there, not strong enough."

[Announcer] To the question of what more had to be done, Silajdzic told N-TV:

[Silajdzic] "As far as I know, two or three tanks were destroyed in these attacks. Serb soldiers, however, destroyed far more than 10 Bosnian tanks and the people in them. The lesson is not yet hard enough. A clear lesson would be to destroy all the Serbs' tanks, that is the only way. A clear message would be to lift the arms embargo against the Bosnians. As you know we have been denied this so far. The international community owes us this, however. Then we can deal with our own defense. Let us defend ourselves and we will do it ourselves."

Serbs Say UN Now Directly Involved in War

LD1104172894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1658 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—The NATO air force and Muslim formations in the area of Gorazde carried out synchronized attacks against Serb positions between 1415 and 1445 today, the information service of the Srpska republic army general staff has said in a statement.

The statement says that the Srpska republic army "successfully responded to the strong attack and is holding its positions."

A NATO C-130 transport carrying a NATO rapid intervention unit with a large quantity of ammunition, weapons, and military equipment, landed at Tuzla airport at 1650, the statement says.

The general staff of the army of the Srpska republic has learned from reliable sources that rapid intervention forces with their weaponry and equipment have been sent from Frankfurt's NATO base to operate together with members of the Muslim force against Serb units, the statement says.

The synchronized attack in the Gorazde area and the abuse of Tuzla airport as a military means (the airport is yet to be opened to humanitarian operations) indicates that UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) units have overstepped their mandate and that they bear all responsibility for further escalation of conflict in the area of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the statement says.

It adds that the UNPROFOR's present activities fully confirm the assumption that they have openly sided with the Muslim forces and become directly involved in the civil war in the area of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Spokesman Threatens UN Troops

LD1104180194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1731 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 11 (TANJUG)—Jovan Zametica, spokesman for president of the Bosnian Serb republic

Radovan Karadzic, on Monday warned the international public, and particularly the world organization, of the far-reaching consequences of continuing military action against Serb military forces in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

If Serb lives are threatened with the U.N. air strikes the conduct of the Bosnian Serb Army [VRS] towards U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops on the ground cannot be guaranteed, Zametica told BBC radio.

If air strikes continue we shall find ourselves at war with the United Nations, said Zametica.

The VRS general staff said on Monday morning that the VRS artillery "was not shelling Gorazde at all so that UNPROFOR forces, members of humanitarian organizations, and the civilian population cannot be in any danger".

"The Moslem war propaganda launches new fabrications from Gorazde, which dangerously fuel reckless decisions about the combat use of NATO air force and contribute to the escalation of the war", said the VRS general staff.

Croatian radio on Monday morning quoted the U.N. commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Lieutenant-General Rose as saying that Gorazde was quiet on Monday morning and denying Moslem accusations that Serb forces were attacking the town.

When asked directly on Monday morning if the Serbs were attacking the eastern enclave of Gorazde, Rose answered negatively and said his reports were "extremely accurate".

Karadzic: Gorazde Not Protected Zone

LD1104223394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2142 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, said this evening that Gorazde cannot be considered a protected zone because the Muslim forces in the towns of Gorazde, Zepa, and Srebrenica have not been disarmed nor has the area been demilitarized, as the UN resolution envisaged.

"Constant attacks on our territory have been launched from this area and our soldiers have been killed in the actions of the Muslim forces launched from the territory under UN protection," Karadzic told Serb radio and television.

"We do not want to negotiate any more about the territories for which our young men are dying, for the Muslim side has chosen the war option over the peace process, and will thus have to accept the war results as well," he added.

Speaking about the Srpska republic's stance regarding the current situation, president Karadzic noted that all

contacts with the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] have been suspended, including those with its civilian department.

"We want to establish exactly who in UNPROFOR is responsible and to what extent. We will then decide whether and with whom we will communicate. They cannot play a role of an impartial mediator and do what they are doing," the president said.

Speaking about the role of the United Nations and NATO in the new conditions in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic said he blames NATO less, for its role is one of a mercenary.

"They are not choosy about the means of achieving their goals—today they shot at an ambulance clearly marked as a Red Cross vehicle, which is the best illustration of their role," Karadzic said.

Karadzic said that the United Nations is "dangerously nearing the point of no return."

"They will have to regain their soul, to return to a balanced and impartial policy. If they do not do this, nobody will allow the UN forces access to their territories," Karadzic said and continued: "We will now reconsider whether we will permit them any kind of activities in our territories."

Karadzic said that the cooperation between the civil and military authorities of the Srpska republic is excellent and that speculations in connection with this clearly indicate the interest of some centers in the West to destabilize the Srpska republic which, as he said, "shows how powerful a united nation is."

Asked about the situation in the immediate future, Karadzic said: "I think that we are winning. It is clear that we are winning and the anger of some international factors illustrates this best."

"They threatened to bomb us. We have rejected the pressure and now we have seen the implementation of these threats. We have seen what they did and the manner in which they did it, how precise they were, and now they are free to go home because they have used their last card. Their repertoire has been exhausted with this act," Karadzic said, pointing out that the Serb nation would never forgive its leadership if it acted in a cowardly manner.

"They would have never forgiven us if we had got scared and if our army had stopped. We have our goals. Gorazde is not a safe area. Gorazde is a Muslim forces' stronghold from which they have been attacking us and this was recently confirmed by UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali himself. Gorazde also belongs to the Serbs and they have the right to return to that town. We will protect the Muslim civilians, too, because we are not waging a war against civilians but against the enemy, the Muslim army," Karadzic told Serb radio and television.

Karadzic To 'Help' Muslims Following Attack

LD1204125294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1048 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—I have to say that NATO bombarded the center of Gorazde, its Muslim part, with horrible consequences—a large number of people were killed in this attack, Srpska republic president Radovan Karadzic said this morning following his talks with Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin.

I am going to visit Gorazde to find out as to how we can help the Muslim civilians in a most effective way since NATO is bombing both sides, Karadzic said as he was setting off for Gorazde.

The president of the Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina met Vitaliy Churkin, Russia's deputy minister for foreign affairs late last night following the latter's visit to the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] command in Sarajevo. The talks continued this morning, although no major success has been achieved.

Churkin's idea was to organize a meeting of Karadzic, Yasushi Akashi, and Charles Redman, the U.S. President's special envoy for the former Yugoslavia, but this initiative was met with no enthusiasm on the part of the leadership of the Srpska republic, TANJUG has learned from reliable sources.

The question of what to discuss, and how, with those officials who had taken an active part in taking the decision to bomb Serb territories remains the main obstacle.

Karadzic on Options After NATO Air Strikes

AU1204102694 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0821 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, by unidentified correspondent in Pale on 11 April—recorded, monitored in progress]

[Text] [Karadzic] ...at the time of the London Conference we lifted the blockade of Gorazde. The Muslims abused this. We now still have Serbs in Gorazde. For a whole two years the cries of Serbs could be heard from Gorazde. Our troops on the surrounding mountain peaks could hear them and it was not easy for them. If the attacks continue, we will employ the measures that all peoples and armies employ in self-defense. If we deem it necessary, we shall proclaim a state of war. It is clear then, that we have to name the aggressor and all the structures that belong to this aggressor are not welcome on our territory, but we are convinced that incidents will not happen, with the exception of what we command and the orders issued from the level of the General Staff and the Interior Ministry. In any case, our army showed restraint, and that is why the effects of the bombings were not worrying. Moreover, we have our objective and that is the breaking of the Muslim offensive. If the

attacks should continue, I am convinced that an escalation is unavoidable, but everyone needs to know that we will not become frightened. Our people have a goal, they know precisely that they are right. Our army is ready and raring to go, and we have no reason to be afraid. There is no air force that can deter us from realizing our goals, nor can it turn the war luck. On the contrary, it can plunge the entire region into a crisis, and, as I said, the West will be the first to plunge into a crisis because of what it has done. We believe that the international community is pushing us precisely in the direction that it wanted to divert us from. It is pushing us toward creating a unified state. If the Serbian people continue to be exposed to our enemies' attacks and to the international community's benevolence toward our enemies, it may decide to go ahead with unification. We want everything to progress in phases, and we want everything to progress in accordance with the international community. However, if the international community continues with such behavior, we may decide to take a different course. And then the international community will find itself facing a fait accompli.

[Correspondent] What is the Serbian side's position in the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina regarding a political solution to the war, the crisis in these areas, that is, and tell us frankly what is the Serb side's position regarding the partition of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Karadzic] Well, look at it this way. We did not want this war, we did not want the (?disintegration) of Yugoslavia, or if you want to put it this way, we are still in Yugoslavia because we never agreed to leave it. We were forced to create our republic in order to be able to defend ourselves and to legitimate all our efforts. The essential interest of the Serbian people is to live in one state. Our priority is unification with Serbia. We are even ready to consign the Srpska republic to memory, and to unite with Serbia as a whole [sentence as heard]. If this proves impossible, we will accept the status of some kind of Serbian federation for as long as we want it, and then later we will go ahead with unification. If, however, this too proves impossible, we will nevertheless not give up on independence. Whether we are going to link up with someone after recognition, and who this will be, this remains [changes thought] this is a political issue.

As far as territory is concerned, let me put it this way: If Serbs are dying for their village, then they are not giving it up. Knowing the concessions the Serbs would have made, it is completely unclear why the Muslims are attacking certain areas that could have been theirs without any struggle. Since they are fighting, and the Serbs are dying for these areas, they will not get anything. The Muslims are at a great risk of losing everything. We hold (?64 percent) of the territory as our own, and we live on (?65 percent) of the territory as a majority people. We control 72 percent of the territory. We will probably have to give back at least the percentage from 72 to 64 percent

[sentence as heard]. Perhaps—in the name of communications and [word indistinct] and so forth—we could go a little below (764 percent). However, 50 percent or below 50 percent....

[Correspondent, interrupting] Forty-nine, which is [words indistinct]

[Karadzic] That is out of the question. That was a variant in which the Muslims would get 33 and the Croats 17 or 17.5 percent had peace been signed that day. At the same time, there is a calculation that, I admit, (?has been calculated) by Mr. Krajisnik, which is correct. We should actually get 60 percent and the Muslims and Croats should get 50 percent.

This means, that the former Bosnia-Herzegovina has 110 percent, naturally. This is actually so, as the Muslims and the Croats have some territories that overlap, that is, the territories that [word indistinct] to the Muslims and the Croats alike. Therefore, the Muslims and the Croats can satisfy their appetites in this respect. However, if a war solution takes place, we will most definitely keep everything. For this reason it is much better for the opposite side to immediately agree on restoration of peace and political talks.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, in place of my last question, would you like to send a message to our nation, which probably expects you to say something regarding the latest events?

[Karadzic] I can say that all the Serbs worldwide are proud of the way in which we, here, have faced the threats of bombing. Now, the bombing has materialized and we have seen what it looks like. Simply as if the people would say, fire away and we will see what next, what you want. The people feel as strong as Antaeus, they feel strong because they are on their own soil.

I would like to send a message to our people not to worry, as it will be the way the people have decided. The authorities, the army, and the police will do what constitutes the tendency and aspiration of our nation. We know this aspiration from several referendums, from the first elections, and finally also from daily contacts.

Krajisnik Calls Strike 'Crime' Against Peace

LD1104151794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1401 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Srpska assembly, said today that "the U.S. bombing of Serb positions is a crime against the Serb people and against peace."

It is obvious that neither the United States nor the UN are ready for the establishment of peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Krajisnik told Radio Yugoslavia following yesterday's bombing of Serb positions near Gorazde.

The Serbs have the right to defend themselves and will not allow the UN to help the Muslims to improve their positions, Krajisnik added.

He stressed that the Serb side has demanded to be told by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] who ordered the bombing and that those who made the decision to authorize the attack would be unwelcome in the Srpska republic.

Krajisnik said the Serb side has clear evidence that UNPROFOR provided help in arming the Muslims and that it is biased in favor of the Muslims.

"The bombing by the U.S. planes was further proof that UNPROFOR is not impartial in the civil war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina", Krajisnik said.

"We cannot solve problems partially and establish peace in the areas where the Muslims are suffering military defeats. We said this to General Michael Rose on three occasions yesterday and asked him to use his influence with the Muslims so that we can achieve peace in Gorazde."

The Serb side, according to Krajisnik, agreed to have Gorazde defined as a protected zone and to find a way to define its borders, but the Muslim side has rejected such proposals.

Says UN Violated Charter

LD1104191794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1840 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 11 (TANJUG)—Assembly President of the Bosnian Serb Republic (R.S.) Momcilo Krajisnik on Monday said the renewed air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions on Monday were a disastrous move on the part of the United Nations, which he said had greatly exceeded its authority and assigned NATO the task out of a wish to aid the Bosnian Muslims in their offensive in the area of Gorazde.

"We had proposed that the war stop on all of Bosnia-Herzegovina territory, but the proposal was not upheld by either the Muslims or the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), but, quite the contrary, the Muslim offensive was tolerated and (Bosnian) Serb positions were air raided," Krajisnik said on Belgrade's Politika TV.

The Muslim side in late March launched a strong offensive on Bosnian Serb positions from Gorazde, a Muslim enclave which should have been demilitarized last spring as a U.N.-proclaimed "safe area." around 10,000 Muslim troops were massed for the offensive.

Krajisnik said that the Serb side countered the Muslim offensive because it was provoked and because the Muslims used the "safe area," which has not territorially been defined, "as a source of war" in eastern Bosnia.

The R.S. assembly president said that UNPROFOR had for no reason at all violated the U.N. charter and its

mandate in Bosnia- Herzegovina, and instead of censuring the Muslims had "completely sided with the Serb enemies."

Krajisnik said that the R.S. leadership was following the situation and that it had requested of the United Nations to say who had ordered the air strikes.

Krajisnik said that the R.S. leadership would decide on its further action and contacts with UNPROFOR, which he said had been frozen for the time being, only upon receiving an answer from the United Nations.

Discusses Future of Negotiations

LD1104145594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1322 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Obrenovac, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, the president of the Srpska republic assembly, said today that the bombing of Gorazde was a great blow to peace, which was within reach.

We are not ruling out fresh strikes, but if there are any, we will take certain political and military steps, Krajisnik said.

However, we cannot abandon Gorazde because before the war 35 percent of its residents were Serbs. We cannot watch and do nothing while the Muslims are constantly mounting provocations from all three protected areas. This is what happened this time as well. The world should know that this area will never be calm unless the causes of the conflict are removed; and they lie in the Muslim violations of the agreement on protected areas.

Answering a question by a Radio Obrenovac [in Serbia] journalist, of whether yesterday's events will influence diplomatic activity and postpone the negotiations, Krajisnik said: We cannot remain indifferent to what the Muslims are trying to do, but despite everything, we have not closed the door on negotiations and on establishing peace.

Srpska Army Command Denies Shelling Gorazde

LD1104152694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1505 GMT 11 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 11 (TANJUG)—The general staff of the Bosnian Serb Republic Army reported Monday that its artillery "was not shelling Gorazde at all and that therefore UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] troops, representatives of humanitarian organizations or the civilian population cannot be in danger there".

"The Moslem war propaganda is hastily launching new fraud from Gorazde, calculated to call for and justify the engagement of the NATO airforce against the Serb people and army. It seems as if some senior

UNPROFOR officers and officials have joined in the Moslem propaganda deceptions", the statement given to TANJUG says.

NATO U.S. warplanes on Sunday evening launched air strikes on Bosnian Serb positions near the Moslem enclave of Gorazde, a U.N.-designated "safe haven" which should have been demilitarized last spring. In late March, about 10,000 Moslems from Gorazde surged into a heavy offensive against Serb territories.

Moslem fabrications about attacks on Gorazde fuel hasty decisions on the use of force by the NATO aviation and contribute to the escalation of war. This prevents and postpones a lasting and complete cessation of hostilities and the reaching of an agreement on lasting peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the statement says.

UNPROFOR Spokesman on Request for Air Strikes

LD1104184594 Paris TF-1 Television Network in French 1800 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Excerpts] There has been another raid by U.S. aircraft on the Serb positions that have been besieging the Muslim town of Gorazde. [passage omitted] Naida Nakad reports:

[Nakad] [passage omitted] The commander of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] in Bosnia called for this intervention. The UN spokesman in Sarajevo explains:

[Begin E. Chaperon recording] The situation remained calm during the night and this morning, unfortunately, the Serbs resumed their advance, they resumed their thrust toward the town, and they jeopardized the safety of our staff once again. This is what led General Rose to call for the agreement to air strikes. This took place at 1407. The planes launched the attack at 1419. [end recording] [passage omitted]

SRNA: NATO Bombed Muslim Part of Gorazde

LD1204123394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1122 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—One of the two "F-18" planes attacking Serb positions around Gorazde yesterday bombed the town center by mistake, it has been learned from a radio message sent by a UN monitor to the pilot, which was intercepted at a radar base in neighboring Yugoslavia, SRNA reported early this morning. This caused panic among the people of Gorazde and Muslim soldiers who began to flee toward the surrounding hills.

Several inhabitants of Gorazde who made it to Serb positions said that the explosion of a bomb caused a horrific scene, large number of casualties and huge material damages.

Citizens Mistakenly Bombed

LD1204102594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0931
GMT 12 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 12 (TANJUG)—One of the two U.S. F-18s which attacked Serb positions near Gorazde on Monday bombed the centre of the city by mistake killing a large number of civilians, says SRNA, the news agency of the Bosnian Serb Republic.

SRNA cites a radio message sent by a U.N. observer in Gorazde to the pilot of the aircraft and adds that this was also confirmed by several citizens of Gorazde who managed to reach the Serb positions.

According to SRNA, the blast killed many civilians and caused considerable material damage.

Moslem Sarajevo Radio on Monday evening said that the Serb shelling left 160 people wounded and 62 dead.

U.S. NATO-assigned warplanes on Sunday and Monday launched air strikes on Serb positions close to Gorazde, Moslem enclave in southeast Bosnia-Herzegovina. The number of victims is as yet unknown.

Bosnian Serb Republic Vice-President Biljana Plavsic said on Monday that the victims were Serb civilians and that Serb children had been bombed by sophisticated laser technology.

The United Nations months ago ruled Gorazde a safe area, together with five other zones in Bosnia. Although it was set to be demilitarized, this city served as a starting point of a major 10,000-strong Moslem offensive against the Serbs.

According to U.N. reports, the Gorazde battles were provoked by the Moslems.

Serb Prisoners Killed by Refugees From Gorazde

LD1104153794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1447 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—At least 10 prisoners of Serb nationality who have been detained in a silo in Tarcin, 30 km southwest of Sarajevo, for nearly two years were killed last night when refugees from Gorazde broke into the prison, which is under the control of the Muslim authorities.

Serb intelligence sources say that Muslim refugees from Gorazde, who are living in Tarcin and the nearby village of Pazarić, had held the silo under blockade since Friday. The refugees demanded the lynching of the detained Serbs.

The Muslim police had the situation under control until Sunday evening when the mob broke into the prison and killed at least 10 Serbs, using firearms and other objects.

Muslim Sarajevo radio confirmed that the incident had happened, saying that shooting had been heard amid a totally chaotic situation, after which—according to the radio—three prisoners were missing.

The radio reporter says that it is assumed that there had been some casualties, but does not give the figure.

Nothing is known about the fate of the survivors of the massacre, but Muslim sources claim that the police again took control of the silo-prison.

The Serb side has been trying for 18 months now to organize the release of over 200 prisoners from the silo on the principle "all for all" with the Muslim authorities, and with the help of international humanitarian organizations, but the Muslim authorities have rejected all attempts to exchange prisoners.

'Laser Technology' Used To Bomb Serb Children

LD1104162094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1557
GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 11 (TANJUG)—The vice-president of the Bosnian Serb republic (R.S.), Biljana Plavsic, on Monday said the attacks by NATO planes near the eastern Bosnian Moslem enclave of Gorazde had killed Serb civilians and that the "bombing of Serb children used sophisticated laser technology".

At a protest rally organized outside the U.S. Embassy building in Belgrade by the independent anti-racial association "White Rose", Plavsic said that at the time when Serbs were offering lasting peace, the United Nations, instead of sending observers to Gorazde, sent experts for the guiding of missiles.

The R.S. vice-president said a toll of the NATO air strikes is yet unknown, but the R.S. leadership is on the ground.

She said it was quite certain that civilians had been killed because she said bombs had been dropped deep in the R.S. territory—on the populated areas.

She said Bosnian Serbs had broken off all contacts with U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

"Nothing is as it had been before the bombing any longer, and the Serbian people has a new aggressor before it," she said.

Plavsic announced that further steps to be taken by the Serb side would be decided on Tuesday, at a meeting of the R.S. supreme command.

The vice-president of the "White Rose" association, writer Radomir Smiljanic said the air strikes on Serbs had eventually unmasked the United Nations, NATO and the Western powers.

By the NATO move yesterday, peace has been undermined, and the world community has sided with one of the parties to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina—the Moslems, he said.

The protest was held in front of the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade, in connection with U.S. NATO planes' air strikes on Serb positions near the eastern enclave of Gorazde, which were carried out on Sunday at the request of UNPROFOR.

Although Gorazde should have been demilitarized last spring, as one of the six Moslem safe areas, it was used as a starting-point of attacks of 10,000 Moslem troops on Serb positions around the town.

According to UNPROFOR reports, the fighting around Gorazde has been provoked by the Moslems. According to Serb military sources, the Moslem authorities in Sarajevo want to capture more territory before the resumption of the peace talks mediated by the international community.

Serb Paramedics Killed in 2d NATO Attack

LD1204094594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0812 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] Cajnice, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—The details of events on the Gorazde battlefield following the U.S. bombing raids on civilian targets and positions of the Bosnian Serb Herzegovina Corps have finally been revealed, the TANJUG correspondent from Cajnice, south of Gorazde, reports.

According to the command of the Herzegovina Corps, the second NATO attack at about 1445 yesterday [11 April] took place in the area of the Serb village of Bare, 2 km from Gorazde.

However, ambulance cars belonging to the Serb forces were hit instead of Srpska republic army tanks, as NATO representatives claimed.

Two paramedics from Gacko [Serb-held town south of Gorazde] were killed on this occasion and two ambulance cars were completely destroyed. Two Serb houses were also completely destroyed. Their inhabitants had fled the Muslim attacks almost two years ago.

The Americans fired missiles and dropped bombs of great destructive power on Serb positions. This is illustrated by the fact that one of the missiles broke through three 20 centimeter-thick concrete floors.

According to Serb sources, everything was most probably carried out in agreement with the Muslim side—immediately before the bombing raid yesterday thick black smoke rose from chimneys of houses in Gorazde. In this way the Muslims were marking the no-target zone for the Americans.

Simultaneously with the attack of the American planes, the Muslim forces launched an infantry attack on Serb

positions from Gorazde, with strong support from recoilless guns, mortars, antiaircraft guns, and multiple rocket launchers.

Where did the Muslims from Gorazde, a UN safe area, get all the weapons and ammunition? That is what only they and the NATO representatives know. However, they were not able to move the Serb positions.

Details of the U.S. attack in the Mount Preljuca area two days ago have also been revealed. This area is 15 kilometers from Gorazde and it is a part of the [Serb-held] Foca municipality.

It is logical to ask: How did the Americans want to protect UN military observers in Gorazde by bombing positions so far away?

As long as one can remember, Preljuca has always been a Serb territory, and a year ago the Muslims committed a horrific crime in the village of Crnetici just beneath Preljuca, killing more than 20 civilians, including two infants. The U.S. planes have carried on the job.

Paramedics Identified

LD1204101594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0909 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Cajnice, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—According to the command of the Bosnian Serb Herzegovina Corps, a paramedic team was hit in the American bombing raid on civilian targets and positions of Herzegovina Corps soldiers yesterday instead of tanks, as NATO representatives claimed.

Milomir Ceranic and Radomir Maljevic, paramedics from Gacko, were killed on this occasion. Two houses in the Serb village of Bare, two km south of the Gorazde town center on the right bank of the Drina river, were also destroyed. [passage omitted]

No one was killed in the attack launched by American planes on Preljuca [15 km south of Gorazde] but one passenger car was destroyed. Serb forces' tanks were not hit in this attack either, contrary to claims by NATO representatives. [passage omitted]

Serb Ambulances Hit

AU1204113294 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Scepan Aleksic report from Cajnice]

[Text] Finally, all the pieces of the mosaic of events on the Gorazde battlefield linked to the U.S. bombing of civilian targets and positions of the Herzegovina Corps have been put together.

Yesterday, at approximately 1445, the attack was repeated in the region of the Serbian village of Bare, which is 2 km from Gorazde, the command of the Herzegovina Corps has confirmed. However, it was not the tanks of the Srpska republic army that were hit, as

NATO representatives claim, but ambulance vehicles of the Serbian forces. On that occasion two paramedics from Gacko were killed, while two ambulance vehicles were completely destroyed.

Two Serbian homes, whose residents had fled from the Muslim onslaught nearly two years ago, were razed. The Americans fired rockets of the biggest caliber and dropped bombs of enormous weight. This conclusion is implied by the information that one of the rockets penetrated three 20-centimeter thick concrete plates. All this was most probably done in agreement with the Muslim side, as thick black smoke was rising from the houses in Gorazde directly prior to yesterday's bombing. In this way the Muslims marked the zone which the Americans should not pound.

At the same time as the attack of the U.S. aircraft, an infantry attack of the Muslim formations from Gorazde at the Serbian positions started, supported substantially by recoilless guns, mortars, antiaircraft guns, and rocket launchers. Where the Muslims in Gorazde, which is a UN protected area, obtained all these arms and ammunition from, only they and NATO representatives know. However, they did not succeed in moving the Serbian positions.

The details of the U.S. attack in the region of Preljuca the day before yesterday are also known. That area is 15 km from Gorazde and is situated on the territory of Foca Commune. A logical question arises here: By bombing positions so distant, how were the Americans trying to protect the UN military observers in Gorazde. Preljuca has been Serbian territory since time immemorial, and precisely in the village of Crnetici, directly underneath it, the Muslims committed a terrible crime a year ago, killing more than 20 civilians, among whom were two preschool children. The American aircraft will most probably finish off their job, so it seems.

UNHCR Reports Seven Shells Hit Gorazde

AU1204101894 Paris AFP in English 1007 GMT
12 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 12 (AFP)—The Moslem enclave of Gorazde, eastern Bosnia, was hit by seven shells early Tuesday morning, UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] spokeswoman Lyndall Sachs said in Belgrade.

The situation, however, was "relatively calm" after Monday's second air raid by NATO forces against Serb positions around the enclave, she said. Regular bursts of small arms fire could be heard, she added.

She was reporting information received from United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Gorazde.

Spokesman in Belgrade for Doctors Without Borders [Medecins sans Frontieres], Eric Stobbaerts, also said he had been told the situation in Gorazde was calm

Tuesday morning, although isolated bursts of gunfire could be heard in the enclave.

He commented after speaking with the organisation's team of doctors in Gorazde.

"Overnight Monday, 34 more people were injured, four of whom died," Stobbaerts said.

Speaking in Sarajevo Tuesday, United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Major Rob Annink said the situation in Gorazde remained serious.

The Bosnian Serbs had "closed up to the River Drina" all along the southwest of the enclave Monday, he said, and were trying to push southward from the north, coming close to Bosnian Army positions.

Major Roy Thomas, senior military observer in Sarajevo, said, meanwhile, that UNPROFOR was trying, via contacts with the Bosnian Serb army, to gain contact with a Dutch military observer and his Serb interpreter who have been missing since they left the mainly Moslem enclave of Zepa, northeast of Gorazde, Monday morning.

The observer was on a routine administrative patrol, Thomas said. He and his interpreter passed through a Serb checkpoint out of Zepa and were last heard of at 9:30 a.m. (0730 GMT) Monday.

Prime Minister Siladzic Discusses Gorazde

LD1204102694 London BBC Television Network in
English 2130 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Interview with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by announcer Peter Snow; Snow in London studio, Silajdzic in Sarajevo; from the "Newsnight" program—live]

[Text] [Snow] Mr. Silajdzic, what do you hear about the situation around Gorazde tonight? Is it quiet?

[Silajdzic] Yes, I spoke with them at 10 tonight—our time tonight—and they said that actually the attacks on Gorazde intensified after the air strikes. Now it's rather quiet, but I'm afraid that those people are looking for a very difficult and tense night tonight and God knows only what happens tomorrow.

[Snow] But it is your judgment that the air strikes may have been enough and may now have done the trick and stopped the Serb attack on Gorazde?

[Silajdzic] The air strikes were too late, too limited to impress the Serbs. They obviously were not impressed for they intensified, as I said, their attacks on Gorazde today. Twenty-five people died after the air strikes, and I must say that torture of Gorazde people must stop. Either by the UN and Nato action, or by lifting the arms embargo for the Bosnian's so as we can defend ourselves.

[Snow] Now how about the Russian Foreign Ministry's suggestion today that UN peacekeepers now going, if

General Rose can find the peacekeepers to go in there, go into Goradze and disarm both sides, the Serbs and your own soldiers, Bosnian government soldiers, in Goradze?

[Silajdzic] Well that's disarming the victim. So the Serbs who were attacking Goradze for 15 days, attacking the safe zone, attacking civilian areas, attacking the UNPROFOR base, and now they should be disarmed together with their victims. And I heard on the news that Russian Minister Kozyrev said that this was a dreadful mistake. So the 15 days of killing civilians is not a mistake. Don't human lives mean anything anymore? So, the Serbs will have to withdraw to the exclusion zone lines in order for the peace negotiations to be continued.

[Snow] Well now, that's what the Americans appear to be saying as well. If the Serbs do now relax their pressure, if they do now stop, and if they are ready for ceasefire talks, are you ready to do that too?

[Silajdzic] Well, as soon as they withdraw, because they attacked the safe zone, as soon as they withdraw behind the exclusion zone lines to be established by the Security Council, of course we are ready to talk. The problem was that they were saying they were ready to talk and applying the tactics of talking and negotiating. We warned General Rose from the very beginning that this was their tactics.

[Snow] But you will talk Mr. Silajdzic about a ceasefire all over Bosnia provided this attack on Goradze stops? Is that right, you will do that?

[Silajdzic] I'm sorry, will you repeat the question?

[Snow] You are prepared to sit down and talk with the Serbs and General Rose about a ceasefire over the whole of Bosnia if the pressure on Goradze stops, is that right?

[Silajdzic] Not if the pressure on Goradze stops, when they withdraw behind the lines of the exclusion zone, that means 20 kms in the radius around Goradze, then we are ready to sit and talk yes.

[Snow] Thank you very much, Mr. Silajdzic.

Views Repatriation of Refugees

AU1104203894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] A delegation of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], comprising among it members Sadako Ogata's special envoy (Nicholas Morris) and the UNHCR head for Bosnia-Herzegovina (Karen Abu Said), today talked to our government delegation headed by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic. Nedžad Leko reports.

[Begin recording] [Leko] Prime Minister Silajdzic said the following in talks with the UNHCR delegation:

[Silajdzic] We mostly discussed repatriation—that is, the return of refugees. The government considers this to be a priority and very difficult task, particularly in view of the fact that we do not have defined borders because of the

situation with the aggressor. The borders of the (?Serbian) cantons have not been defined because it is now impossible to define them. [sentence as heard] We [words indistinct] on territories that are under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina legitimate authorities and the areas now controlled by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. We can attempt to do something in these areas, beginning with the easier cases, meaning those cases where people can return home—that is, they have a place to return to, but because of transportation or [words indistinct] or owing to problems with possible conflicts they actually cannot go home. Therefore, we need to facilitate their return home to the extent that this is possible. However, we need to have a general plan because all these issues are mutually very intertwined, this is an entire network of problems. If we do not come up with such a plan, we will be unable to carry out this task. I repeat that this is a priority task, a very complicated and difficult job.

[Leko] After the talks, (Nicholas Morris), Sadako Ogata's special envoy, made the following statement for correspondents.

[(Morris), in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian] The best solution to any problem of refugees and displaced persons is voluntary repatriation, which means making it possible for them to return to their homes in a safe and dignified way. The UNHCR wishes to work closely with the Bosnian Government in order to help carry this out. We value that we were able to discuss this today with the prime minister. As you know, several problems exist, but I believe they can be solved so everyone who wishes to do so is given the chance of returning [home] as soon as possible. The UNHCR will offer its help to the Bosnian Government in returning people to their homes.

[Leko] In response to a question pertaining to the humanitarian situation in Goradze, (Morris) said:

[(Morris)] At the moment, our convoys have no access to Goradze. The last convoy entered Goradze on 22 March. In the past three days we have distributed the last food reserves that we had [words indistinct]. This food might last another four to five days. We have the possibility of again delivering food from the air. This is unsatisfactory, but it is the only possible solution. However, owing to the configuration of the terrain around Goradze, the conflicts would have to stop. The organization of medical evacuation of victims of the latest fighting in Goradze is an additional problem. At the same time, the delivery of medicine to Goradze is another problem.

[Leko] Reporters wanted to know when the air bridge and humanitarian aid convoys would be restored.

[(Morris)] As far as the air bridge is concerned, we do not know the answer to that, but we suppose that if no great problems arise today, we hope that the air bridge will be reintroduced. As far as the suspension of convoys that pass through the territory under the control of the Bosnian Serbs, we hope that they will be restored

tomorrow or the day after. Access to Gorazde is out of our hands. That will have to be decided by a political solution of the problem. [end recording]

TANJUG on 'Make-Believe' Serb Snipers

LD1204103494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0857 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 11 (TANJUG)—Official of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Peter Kessler said in Zagreb on Monday that several civilians had been hit by snipers in Gorazde overnight, which would mean that Serbs have rifles such as the world has never seen, since the nearest Serb positions are located 5 km from Gorazde.

Kessler, true, did not openly say which side the snipers belonged to, but said that all this happened after the NATO air strike on Serbs who are surrounding this Muslim enclave in eastern Bosnia. He was evidently relying on the intelligence of those who hear his statement immediately to conclude that the snipers were Serb snipers firing from Serb super rifles.

The Serb positions nearest to Gorazde are located at least 5 km to the south, outside Vitkovici. It therefore follows that Serbs have rifles of so far unknown make, because the most effective fire-arms currently known to man can hit targets at a distance of 3 km at the most.

If Serbs did not open sniper fire from Vitkovici, then, for instance, they could have done so from their positions in Kovaci, 6 km north of Gorazde, or, why not, from Uhotica Hill, only 10 km southwest of the town.

Perhaps it will even be "discovered" that Bosnian Serbs have invented rifles which military experts throughout the world did not even dream existed, or perhaps Kessler's statement is aimed at preparing the media and providing justification for new attacks by NATO—U.S. warplanes, in fact.

Since the U.S. and the U.N. still have not reached final agreement on what was the exact reason for bombing Serb positions in Bosnia, it could be gathered that the field was now being prepared for new attacks, in which event the contradictory explanations about the first attack would be quickly forgotten.

While British media are carrying a statement by a member of British special units within the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Gorazde, who reported by radiotelephone that the U.N. staff had been in danger from the local population, Washington keeps repeating that the U.S. planes launched attacks following a request from the U.N. staff in Gorazde for protection.

After all this, it is really not clear why Bosnian Serbs were bombed on Sunday and Monday, but it is possible that the make-believe Serb snipers could provide a suitable excuse for NATO's repeated military siding with the Bosnian Muslims.

Serbs Mine Roads to Sarajevo Arms Depots

AU1204063494 Paris AFP in English 2348 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs closed checkpoints out of Sarajevo and mined access roads leading to arms depots guarded by UN troops Monday as tension mounted following NATO airstrikes on Serb positions near the Moslem enclave of Gorazde.

The mines were laid during the day outside at least three arms depots where Serbs had earlier placed their heavy weapons under UN control. Two depots were located north of the city at Vogosca and Radava and one, to the west, near Blazuj, a UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman said.

UNPROFOR had suspended all movement of its forces, spokesman Rob Annink said.

Meanwhile, all checkpoints leading to the city were closed and even the head of UNPROFOR, French general Bertrand de Lapresle, had to skirt around a Serb-held area to reach Sarajevo airport from where he flew to Zagreb.

An attempt to organize a meeting between De Lapresle and Serb commander General Ratko Mladic was called off after Bosnian Serbs broke off all contacts with UNPROFOR Sunday night in the wake of a first North Atlantic Treaty Organisation air strike against their forces outside besieged Gorazde. A second strike was carried out Monday.

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Monday suspended its air bridge to Sarajevo and a spokeswoman said UNHCR would reassess the situation Tuesday before deciding whether to resume airlifts of injured Bosnians out of Sarajevo to the Italian airforce base at Ancona.

Close Down Checkpoints Out of Sarajevo

AU1104163594 Paris AFP in English 1539 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 11 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs closed checkpoints out of Sarajevo Monday [11 April], witnesses said, as tension mounted in the city following NATO air strikes on Serb positions in the Moslem enclave of Gorazde.

Some 50 people waited in vain at the Bratstvo-Jedinstvo [Brotherhood and Unity] Bridge linking Sarajevo with the Serb-controlled Grbavica district but it remained shut, foreign photographers reported.

Even UN peacekeeping troops were stopped by Serb forces or delayed by formalities at the checkpoints, a UN spokesman said.

The closure of Serb checkpoints around Sarajevo followed Serb anger at air strikes Sunday and Monday on their troops' positions around besieged Gorazde in eastern Bosnia.

Bosnian Serbs overnight broke off all contacts with the UN protection force (UNPROFOR), while the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Monday suspended its air bridge to Sarajevo.

A spokeswoman said UNHCR would reassess the situation Tuesday before deciding whether to resume airlifts of injured Bosnians out of Sarajevo to the Italian airforce base at Ancona.

The Bratstvo-Jedinstvo bridge out of Sarajevo was opened on March 24 under the surveillance of UN protection forces for civilians and humanitarian aid transport.

The only passable route to Sarajevo airport on Monday was a detour through the Dobrinja quarter of town, controlled by Moslem-led Bosnian Government forces.

An UNPROFOR spokesman said protection forces would wait and see how the situation developed in Sarajevo before deciding whether to take any action.

Ministry Statement on Blockade

*AU1104205494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Apr 94*

[Text] During this newscast, we have received a statement by the [words indistinct] of Information of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Interior Ministry. After the action of the NATO planes, carried out on 10 and 11 April against the artillery positions of the Serbian aggressor around Gorazde, the military police authorities of the so-called Srpska republic in Pale have made a decision to block all the access routes to Sarajevo and all road communications used by the UN peace forces.

By closing the checkpoints, the Serbian aggressor has thwarted the free movement of civilians—stipulated in earlier agreements—over the Brotherhood and Unity Bridge in Sarajevo and in the corridor toward Visoko. The Pale-imposed ban on movement also applies to all members and vehicles of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] and international humanitarian organizations, which annuls and violates all agreements on the establishment of special routes for the members of the UN peace forces, which in turn directly threatens their basic role and narrows the scope of their engagement to the territory under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. UNPROFOR members continue to move freely in these areas. This act of the Serbian aggressor implies his readiness to continue with repressive measures and threats to the civilian population in Sarajevo, as well as in the other Bosnia-Herzegovina towns that, by decision of the UN Security Council, have been proclaimed safe havens.

Bihac Offensive Being Prepared for 15 April

AU1104194994

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 11 April carries in its regular 42-minute newscast the following reports on the fighting in the republic.

Bihac correspondent Mirza Sadikovic reports on the situation in the area and says that "Buzim, Caute, and other villages in the area have again been shelled in the course of the day. According to as yet unconfirmed information, several civilians were injured and some killed. The defense lines on Grabez, the Grmuskosrbjanksi plateau, and on the Buzim front have been under fire all day. In addition to relentless antiaircraft and heavy machine gun fire, the forward defense lines were shelled several times. The activity is becoming increasingly intense on the defense lines on the Buzim front, and the enemy continues to regroup and reinforce his positions on Ivanjski Put. Movements of the [Serbian] aggressor were sighted today in the area of the so-called Serbian autonomous province of Krajina, while reliable sources speak of preparations for a new, joint offensive by the Kladusa traitors [of Fikret Abdic] and the chetniks on the Bihac commune, which should begin around 15 April. The main points of attack would be Bugar and Trzacka Rastela, and the (?main objective a consolidation) of forces on the Buzim part of the front."

Mirudin Aldobasic, reporting on the situation in the 7th South Operative Group's theater of operations, says that "targeted by their [the Serbs'] weaponry were the residential areas of the Doboj region—Matuzici, Mravici, and [name indistinct]. In the early afternoon, the aggressor on several occasions directed fierce artillery fire at the defense lines of the 110th Glorious Croatian Defense Council [HVO] Usora Brigade and the 215th Glorious Motorized Doboj-Bosna Brigade. All attacks were successfully repelled."

Correspondent Hamiz Deronjic reports from Brcko that "after several fierce but unsuccessful attempts at tank and infantry breakthroughs carried out on the Omerbegovaca-Vranovaca line and in the Vitinovici region, the enemy infiltrated several reconnaissance-subversion groups. However, these well-equipped Chetnik units fared no better in their attacks on our positions. All their attempts were thwarted. It is estimated that 10 Chetniks were killed in the battles. The free Brcko territory has been under fire all day with three people injured. The shelling of civilian targets has escalated in the early evening, and the Serbian aggressor is concentrating his manpower and hardware in front of the defense lines of the 108th Motorized Brigade, the 108th Infantry Brigade, and units of the 2d Corps. The enemy is evidently preparing an extensive and lengthy offensive."

Olovo correspondent Amira Salihodovic reports that "the shelling that began in the early morning continued into the afternoon. Howitzers, guns, tanks, and mortars were active from almost all the Chetnik strongholds. Our

defense lines in the area of (?Batici) suffered a fierce artillery and infantry attack."

The studio announcer reads a report from the 1st Corps Press Center saying that "in retribution for the two aircraft over Gorazde, the Chetniks in the Sarajevo area [words indistinct]. A member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army was wounded by a shot fired from Grbavica, while the aggressor from the (?Bosuce) barracks in the Vis area and Batici also fired at the defense lines and the city itself."

Mostar correspondent Omer Vatric reports that "as has been announced by the Command of the Spanish Battalion [words indistinct] of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], an agreement has been reached in Medjugorje between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army on the moving of the city's demarcation lines in Mostar. The deployment of units on the new lines has to be completed by midnight on 13 April, while the final agreement on this should be signed tomorrow [12 April] in Gornji Vakuf. The establishment of joint checkpoints and joint police patrolling of the [words indistinct] and UNPROFOR on the [words indistinct] has also been agreed. [passage indistinct] A new exchange of 13 bodies from the western part of Mostar and seven from the eastern part has also been carried out, while in the HVO prison at the heliport, 225 Bosniak Muslim prisoners are on a hunger strike for the fifth day running, protesting that the HVO is not implementing the Roso-Delic agreement on the disbanding of all camps and prisons."

Italian Report of Mladic's Demise Dismissed

LD1104145494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1323 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—Certain sources and media in Italy have used the U.S. planes' attack against the Serb territory around Gorazde yesterday to broadcast false reports on the wounding, and even the death, of General Ratko Mladic, commander of the main headquarters of the Srpska republic army.

TANJUG's reporter in Sarajevo spoke on the phone with General Mladic this morning, a fact that completely denies the disinformation of the Italian media. At the same time, this reveals the truth that all forms of special war are being waged against the Serb nation and the Srpska republic. Such alleged information aims at causing panic among members of the Srpska republic army and destabilizing the overall situation in the Srpska republic.

Sources of B-H Government Finances

94BA0243A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 2-4 Apr 94 p 21

[Article by Ivan Sabic: "Rich and Untaxed"]

[Text] Two years have passed since the economy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had fallen into deep trouble even before the war broke out, was in a position to guarantee even the most necessary financial minimum for operation

of the government in that portion of Bosnia-Herzegovina under Muslim control. Even if the costs of that government are reduced exclusively to diplomatic activity, that is, to the participation of Muslim delegations in peace negotiations, tours of friendly countries, and covering the expenses of diplomatic missions and missions to international organizations.

From what sources, then, are all those expenditures financed; in particular, what are the sources of funds to cover expenditures for the armed forces and to care for the large number of refugees, which are certainly considerably greater? What is more, in Bosnia-Herzegovina they are even thinking about introducing the most recent technologies in certain segments of the economy and public communications. Hajrudin Suman, general director of the PTT of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for example, has announced the introduction of a mobile telephone network in Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Zenica, and he announced that the Motorola company was one possible supplier of equipment. Where is the money coming from to "cover" all that?

At the beginning of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Libya furnished aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina in the amount of \$50 million. That amount had been fixed during an earlier visit of Alija Izetbegovic to Tripoli. After that, other Islamic countries sent financial aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina, but these were always considerably smaller amounts intended for the care of people threatened by the Serbian aggression, and the donors decided considerably more frequently to send aid in the form of food, clothing, and medicine. In mid-June 1992 the Kuwaiti agency KUNA reported that that country's government had decided to make a donation of \$3.1 million to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and at approximately the same time Saudi Prince Fahet set aside \$8 million.

Izetbegovic's Reproach

However, all that is insufficient to cover regular costs, and even less would the Muslim leadership be able to acquire armament and equipment for its military units on the basis of such amounts of aid. During last year's visit to Riyadh, arranged so that he might accept the award of Saudi King Faisal for his contribution to Islam, Alija Izetbegovic reproached the Islamic countries for furnishing insufficient aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina and said that "several Islamic countries had not fulfilled their obligations" within the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), but he expressed confidence that "with the help of the Islamic countries, the war will not be lost." On that occasion an official figure was presented to the effect that aid in the amount of \$53 million had been obtained since the beginning of the war.

Unofficial estimates have indicated considerably larger amounts spent to care for the refugees, but also to purchase weapons and other military equipment. At that time, of course, before the general Croat-Muslim conflict broke out, there was no great difficulty with the illegal advancement of arms into Bosnia-Herzegovina. But there is no doubt whatsoever that the purchases, and

accordingly the payments for them, have occurred later as well. They are of course difficult to prove, and it is especially difficult to show that sizable quantities have been purchased, although it is clear that otherwise the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina would not have been able to achieve certain military successes.

In late January DER SPIEGEL wrote that \$15 million for arms purchases had come in from certain Bosnian representative offices abroad. The same authors said the money had in fact been spent for the purposes planned, that the MOS [Ministry of the Armed Forces] had purchased six transport helicopters in Russia and two light scout planes in France. According to reports that cannot be described as completely reliable, Muslim armed units have been furnished with arms and equipment purchased in Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland, Azerbaijan, Afghanistan, Armenia, Lebanon, and Serbia, and one journalist from the German television station ZDF said on his return to Germany that he had seen Iranian-made ammunition in Sarajevo.

The German weekly FOCUS wrote recently that in 1993 the Izetbegovic government received \$250 million from the Islamic Conference; the donors were allegedly Abu Dhabi, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and Iran, along with Islamic humanitarian organizations in Europe. According to the same source, Islamic organizations in Great Britain collected \$20 million, and certain arms deliveries from Serbia were "covered" with a delivery of oil from Iran and Libya, with Greece and Romania serving as intermediaries.

"Local Tax" Collected at the Market

"Oil is the weapon of the Islamic countries" is a sentence uttered frequently. There was a time when one heard it in the context of announcement of pressure on the Western countries to remove the embargo from delivery of weapons to the Bosnian Muslims, and on the eve of one meeting of the member-countries of the Islamic Conference it was uttered even by Hikmet Cetkin, Turkish foreign minister, but the threat was never carried out. If we ask ourselves why, the most logical answer is because it is in the interest of the Islamic countries to sell their oil, but there are also other possibilities. For example, an agreement that would go like this: we supply you oil, you give us a free hand in providing aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Certainly all the expenditures of the government in Sarajevo cannot be reduced to covering the costs of caring for the refugees and purchasing armament and military equipment. The government must also have certain amounts to meet other expenditures. From what informed sources say, the donors are once again the Islamic countries and organizations, and the money is being paid into private accounts abroad or literally carried into Bosnia-Herzegovina in cash. Volunteers

from the Islamic countries are said to have brought in rather large amounts in hard currency when they arrived in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Certain officials of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] in central Bosnia say that before the war groups of foreign citizens were crossing their territory and large amounts were discovered when they were searched. As for private accounts abroad, it is assumed that the largest are owned by Alija Izetbegovic, Haris Silajdzic, and Ejup Ganic. It cannot be said that the funds are paid into the private accounts exclusively in order to obtain personal benefits under circumstances favorable to that practice, but rather there is also an effort to leave the government accounts empty. This gets around the possibility of someone tracing the purchases of military supplies, and at that same time it avoids the possibility of those funds being included in the amount that would figure in the succession, assuming of course that it ever occurs.

Nevertheless, the Turkish newspaper SABAH recently published an article stating that the Turks have found fault with the leadership of Bosnia-Herzegovina for having used the immense financial aid for its own purposes. Under the present circumstances it is of course difficult to distinguish precisely between personal and general needs, and it is still more difficult to ascertain the amounts that pass through accounts and through the hands of particular officials. Especially since many tales have been woven in this connection. According to one of those tales, just one Turk from Bosnia, a member of a company of several hundred people who reached Turkey following the Austrian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878, made a money contribution sufficient to equip the entire building of the embassy of Bosnia-Herzegovina when it was opened in Turkey.

The Muslim government has taken certain steps to procure on its own some of the funds necessary to cover the war budget. A law was passed requiring citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina working abroad temporarily to pay a portion of their earnings as their contribution to the defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina, something is probably also "earned" by issuing (expensive) Bosnian passports and other documents in diplomatic missions abroad, and certain amounts, it is difficult to determine how large, are obtained through one kind of legal smuggling.

That is, there is "warranted suspicion" that consumer goods reaching government warehouses in one way or another are going onto the market and being sold at black-market prices. It is known for sure that last year this was the method used in selling off a certain quantity of vegetables which the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, through the mediation of certain international organizations, had sent to Sarajevo from Serbia, so that citizens of Sarajevo buying those vegetables with no knowledge of that were paying a kind of local tax.

The war budget of Bosnia-Herzegovina is obviously so complicated that probably no one has a complete picture of it, that is, of all the sources of funds and all the purposes they are spent for. The only thing that seems to be certain is that there are large holes in the budget.

Gligorov Calls On Greece To Lift Embargo

AU1204110194 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in
Macedonian 12 Apr 94 p 1

["Text" of statement by Kiro Gligorov, president of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; no date given: "Cooperation With Greece—Our Constant Course"]

[Text] Kiro Gligorov, president of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], has issued a statement on the EU Commission's decision to take the Greek embargo against the Republic of Macedonia to the European Court of Justice.

There follows the text of the statement:

"The EU Commission has decided to take the Greek embargo against the Republic of Macedonia to the European Court of Justice.

"On this occasion, I would once again like to reassert the constant course and interest of the Republic of Macedonia to achieve an overall development of relations and cooperation with the neighboring Republic of Greece. We therefore firmly believe that the lifting of the embargo against our country by the Republic of Greece would represent a substantial step toward the renewal of negotiations between our two countries, and an important contribution to the stability of the region in which we live.

"The lifting of the embargo would normalize the situation on the Macedonian-Greek border regarding the free flow of people and goods, which is of mutual benefit for both countries, for their economies and citizens.

"As a measure, the lifting of the embargo would have a significant impact on the intensification of mutual confidence and good will for the continuation of the Macedonian-Greek negotiations within the framework of the United Nations.

"We reiterate our commitment to continue the dialogue, on an equal basis, about mutual relations in disagreement, including the ones pointed out by the EU Commission of 6 April this year. We are convinced that only negotiations in good will and with mutual respect can lead to appropriate and mutually acceptable solutions for all questions.

"Therefore, we firmly believe that the lifting of the embargo is essential for the benefit of both countries and for stability in the region. Ultimately, bearing in mind the serious nature of these issues and our responsibility for our respective countries, we are called upon to do our best in a principled way and on an equal basis, to achieve normalization in our mutual relations, to intensify peace and stability in the Balkans."

Federal

Government Condemns UN Decision on Air Strikes

LD1104140394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1253 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—At an extraordinary session today chaired by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, the Yugoslav federal government discussed the development of the situation following NATO's air strikes against the territory of the Srpska republic in the Gorazde area last night.

The federal government sharply condemned the United Nations' decision to use NATO's air force, which amounts to its direct involvement in the civil war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina on the Muslim side, a statement by the Federal Ministry of Information said.

The federal government particularly stressed that the United Nations did this without having fulfilled the assumed obligation of demilitarizing the Muslim army in Gorazde. Furthermore, it tolerated the planning and carrying out of Muslim offensive military operations launched from the protected area against Serb positions in the Gorazde area. Only when the Muslim spring offensive was defeated did the United Nations remember that Gorazde was a protected area and asked NATO fighter-planes to launch strikes against the Serb side under attack.

It is regrettable that the United Nations, which is obliged by the Charter to preserve peace and international security, took steps that put in jeopardy the peace process and caused the escalation of the war. By taking such biased and war-mongering positions, the United Nations has seriously discredited its reputation as a peace-making force in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and has assumed responsibility for all consequences of a possible further uncontrollable development.

By acting as a side involved in the conflict, the United Nations has set a dangerous precedent, which can have far-reaching implications.

The federal government stresses that the way out of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina should not be based on a policy of double standards, and on the world organization [UN] and other factors siding with any of the three warring sides in the civil war there, but on the same treatment of all three warring sides, as well as on unbiased and unselfish contributions to the peace process. Any deviation from this principle only boosts the Muslim side in its belief that by stubbornly obstructing peace efforts and continuing military hostilities it can win the civil war and impose the concept of a united Bosnia-Herzegovina. The federal government calls on the United Nations to immediately abandon the irresponsible and dangerous policy of getting involved in the war on the side of the Muslims and to fight against the

war and fight for its unconditional, immediate, and lasting end by pursuing peace rather than war.

By consistently pursuing its principled and peaceful policies in resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will continue to provide support for all constructive efforts to reduce the present tensions and to bring an end to the hostilities, and to a just and comprehensive political solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. On this occasion, the federal government draws attention to the solidarity of all citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with the Serb people in the Srpska republic who are victims of the latest aggression, the Federal Ministry for Information says in its statement.

Calls For 'Equal Treatment'

LD1104163394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1609 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 11 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government on Monday [11 April] most energetically condemned the United Nations decision to engage NATO forces to air raid the territory of the Bosnian Serb republic (R.S.) in the area of Gorazde, and qualified the decision as direct involvement in the civil war in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the side of the Muslims.

At a session devoted to the latest development, the Yugoslav Government took the stand that the world organization had assumed the role of a side in conflict and, thereby, set a dangerous precedent which could have far-reaching consequences, the released federal government statement said.

The Yugoslav Government underscored that the U.N. had taken the decision on the air strike without previously fulfilling the assumed obligation to demilitarize Gorazde, and that it had, moreover, tolerated the planning and carrying out of the Muslim offensive operations from the U.N.-proclaimed "safe area" of Gorazde on Bosnian Serb positions around that town.

Gorazde and five other towns in Bosnia-Herzegovina were proclaimed "safe areas" by the U.N. last spring, upon which they were supposed to be demilitarized. However, Gorazde was used in late March this year for an attack on the Bosnian Serb positions around the town. Around 10,000 Muslim troops were engaged in the attack.

The fighting in the area of Gorazde has been provoked by the Muslim side, both according to Bosnian Serb military sources and reports of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR). The Muslim attack from Gorazde was launched as part of an all-out Muslim spring offensive, with a view to winning territories before the internationally brokered peace talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina resume.

It was only after the Muslim spring offensive failed that the U.N. remembered that Gorazde was a U.N.-protected "safe area" and invited NATO bombers to raid the Muslim-attacked Serb side, the federal government said.

"It is regrettable that precisely the United Nations, the organization duty-bound by its charter to preserve peace and international security, has taken a step which threatens the peace process and causes an escalation of war, the [words indistinct] has seriously discredited itself as a peace force in former Bosnia-Herzegovina and assumed the responsibility for all the consequences of possible further uncontrolled developments," the federal government said.

The Yugoslav Government reiterated that "the way out of the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina is not the policy of double standards and the siding of the world organization or other factors with any side whatsoever in the Bosnian civil war, but it is in equal treatment of all warring parties and impartial and unselfish assistance to the peace process."

"Each and every departure from this principle serves only to strengthen the Muslim side in its conviction that by persistently sabotaging peace efforts and by continuing military hostilities it can win the civil war," the Yugoslav Government statement said.

The Yugoslav Government called on the U.N. immediately to abandon the "irresponsible and dangerous policy of joining in the war on the side of the Muslims" and to strive for peace and an immediate, unconditional and lasting end to the war.

The Yugoslav Government reiterated its continued commitment to a "principled and peaceful policy in the solution of the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina," and said that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would continue to lend the necessary support to all constructive efforts aimed at reducing the current tensions, effecting an unconditional and lasting cessation of hostilities, and achieving a comprehensive and equitable political solution to the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Churkin Criticizes UN for Launching Air Strikes

AU1104123394 Paris AFP in English 1209 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 11 (AFP)—Russia's special envoy to ex-Yugoslavia Vitaliy Churkin criticized the United Nations Monday for launching air strikes against Serb positions in Gorazde saying that the international community had embarked on a "slippery slope" in Bosnia.

"We are very much concerned that maybe we are on a slippery slope in terms of international involvement in this fighting area, and our main effort now will be directed at making sure that this tragic experience of Gorazde is not going to be repeated," Churkin told

reporters here after holding a two-hour meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

He said Milosevic had asked him to try "to help find a way out of this situation" which has been rendered more difficult by the Bosnian Serb decision to break all contact with the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

Churkin said he believed Russia could play an important role in relaunching the peace process which would be aimed at finding a "firm and lasting cessation of hostilities."

He said Russia was not pleased at the "level of communication in this very tense moment," apparently referring to the UN decision to launch the air strikes without consulting with Russia first.

"I believe that if Russia was involved in a much closer way in this conflict area, maybe some of the developments may have been prevented," he said.

Churkin was to travel to the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale later Monday to meet with military leader Radovan Karadzic. The latter earlier cancelled a meeting with U.S. special envoy to ex-Yugoslavia Charles Redman.

Karadzic, Churkin Meet for 3d Time in 24 Hours

AU1204103394 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Excerpt] President of the Srpska republic Radovan Karadzic met with special envoy of the Russian president Vitaliy Churkin in Pale this morning. This is the third meeting of Karadzic and Churkin in the last 24 hours.

The Russian envoy visited UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] headquarters in Sarajevo last night and held talks with UNPROFOR commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina General Michael Rose. [passage omitted]

Jovanovic Condemns NATO Air Strikes in Bosnia

AU1104170694 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Telephone interview with FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Dragan Colovic in Belgrade on 11 April—recorded]

[Text] [Colovic] Minister Jovanovic, last night and again this afternoon, Serb positions around Gorazde were bombed by the NATO air force under the auspices of the international organization. This event is in the center of attention now. We would like your comments on this event?

[Jovanovic] As the Federal Government has already said in its statement, we deeply regret this act of the international organization, which used NATO to legitimize an act of aggression against the Serbian people and to carry

out air strikes on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina close to our borders. The international organization has significantly compromised itself with this act and [words indistinct] for continuing the role of peacekeeper and impartial arbiter in the otherwise complex and contradictory Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis.

We are deeply concerned about this irresponsible and risky act, which borders on a military adventure because it actually marks the crossing of the Rubicon, after which nothing is clear any longer and nothing can be foreseen with any degree of certainty. We believe that those who have made this decision will soon realize their mistake and will withdraw the decision on the further engagement of NATO air power. For us, this act presents not only a threat to the peace process and a hindrance to the negotiations that should lead to the signing of an agreement on the absolute cessation of all hostilities, but also a new, very dangerous escalation whose consequences cannot in practice be entirely calculated and for which the international organization has taken all the responsibility. On the other hand, Gorazde has been taken as a reason and excuse for the engagement of NATO military forces, while at the same time, nothing is said as to why in this so-called safe haven Muslim forces still have not been demilitarized, and why Gorazde, as a zone, has been used as a [word indistinct] for the beginning of a massive military offensive by the east Bosnian corps against the Serbs in a number of places, and not only in the immediate vicinity of Gorazde.

Therefore, if anyone has violated the provisions of the agreement and the resolution on safe havens, and certain provisions of the [UN] Charter, then it is precisely those who have called upon NATO to act. Therefore, no one can deny that with this act, NATO and the international organization have interfered in the civil war on one side and against the Serb side. All this greatly complicates the situation and makes it difficult to maintain the peace process and revive it with greater chances of ending the war and reaching a lasting political solution.

[Colovic] Yes. Mr. Jovanovic, I would like to ask you one thing. What do you expect of other international factors that have not been consulted on all of this—I have Russia primarily in mind. President Yeltsin's statement implies that the UN Security Council was not even consulted on all of this?

[Jovanovic] Not only was it not consulted, it was circumvented. Certain provisions of a certain resolution were applied here that allegedly authorize the secretary general and other high officials of the international organization in Bosnia-Herzegovina to make the decision to use NATO forces on the spot. This is only one of the many interpretations possible, and whenever you have the possibility of diverse interpretations, it means that the one that has been highlighted is not enough to warrant making such an important decision. [sentence as heard] As far as I know, Russia objected to the NATO ultimatum [on Sarajevo] for precisely the same reasons,

and I take President Yeltsin's statement as a continuation of Russia's dissatisfaction that the Security Council has been circumvented, and in this way, the voice and opinion of Russia as a great European and world power that has historical and other interests in its Balkan neighborhood.

On the other hand, with these hazardous actions, the world organization itself has rather facilely become an instrument for the realization of aims and interests of the individual great powers and a group of countries, which is also a dangerous precedent as this could be repeated tomorrow in some other situation and in other places. Therefore, it is time for the international community, above all the smaller and medium-sized countries, seriously to study this problem and ask themselves where the international community is heading and what such irresponsible behavior means from an organization whose main aim is to preserve peace and security, that is, to carry out a peace-making role, and not expand military activities and escalate a civil war that threatens to assume the proportions of a wider-scale confrontation. Therefore, we want to believe that reason will nevertheless prevail in the minds of those who so irresponsibly headed into an adventure, and that they will also realize that peace cannot be reached through war, but through peace, and particularly through stopping any kind of war. Therefore we support the demands by the Bosnian Serbs, as well as all other people who advocate an immediate, unconditional, and lasting end to all hostilities throughout the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is the only way to start finding a political solution to the crisis on the basis of equal respect for the legitimate interests and rights of all three constituent peoples. This is the only alternative to this gloomy development, which gathered speed with yesterday's and (?today's) military attacks on Serb positions and Serb-populated places in this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, because the alternative to peace that I am speaking about is a continuation of war, which nobody can consider a joyful prospect and nobody can profit from, not even those who crossed the Rubicon when they decided in favor of this adventure.

[Colovic] Yes. What are your expectations in the coming hours and days?

[Jovanovic] Despite all the dramatic events, one must retain both presence of mind and a cool head. After all, these air strikes, as much as their form and gesture denote an act of aggression, are nevertheless virtually limited to a few NATO aircraft that appear and carry out the destruction and killing of civilians of Serbian nationality. This shows that at this moment, the tactic of pressure is dominant in the other side's thinking. On the other hand, there is the presence of Mr. Churkin, special envoy to President Yeltsin, who has visited Belgrade today and has already gone to Pale, where he will try to repeat his role of a useful bridge between the opposing sides with a view to overcoming this tense situation as well. Finally, in this civil war, everybody can do much evil to others, but nobody can do I do not know how

much evil and thereby benefit from it himself. These advocates of war in Sarajevo on the East River and in Brussels are finally going to realize that because, after all, any policy is carried out with a view to benefiting from it, and not exclusively to doing harm to the other side.

[Colovic] You mentioned Mr. Churkin, who is visiting Pale and who will be talking about this with Serb republic officials. We would like to hear from you what the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will offer in this direction, in the direction of peace.

[Jovanovic] In the announcement that I hope has already been issued to the public, we reiterate the consistent policy of peace, cooperation, and the political solutions to all disputes, including the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. On that line we are ready to give full support and help to all efforts, wherever they may come from, directed to reducing the present tension, to ending all the hostilities, and establishing a just and lasting peace. This resoluteness of ours has not been abandoned even after this latest aggression. On the contrary, it has gained in topicality, significance, and strength because it has almost turned into a lighthouse in the darkness that has come in the wake of this unreasonable decision of the top officials of the world organization and NATO to start this adventure. We expect Russia and the other countries that kept their political presence of mind and rational reasoning about the entire situation to make their full contribution and help those people who have refused to use their reasoning and view the world with realistic eyes more easily to see their mistake and return to the only possible line leading to a way out of this crisis, to a reduction of tension, an end to hostilities, and a return to negotiations as the only means for finding way out of the Bosnian crisis.

[Colovic] Thank you, Minister Jovanovic.

[Jovanovic] Not at all, Mr. Colovic.

Calls Attack 'Provocative'

AU1104204194 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Statement by FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic on NATO air strikes on Gorazde for "Radio and Television of Serbia"; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Apart from representing an act of aggression and the siding with one side in the civil war, the latest air strikes also represent a new form of direct, unprovoked, and provocative pressure not only on the Serbian side in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Together with other forms of pressure that we have so far had an opportunity to acquaint ourselves with and to feel, this is the biggest and most dangerous straw that threatens to break the camel's back. Therefore, those people who decided on this kind of military adventure are at the same time the side that takes on itself the responsibility for all possible consequences, as

well as the entire development that nobody can say can be completely controlled. In that respect, NATO, as well as the United Nations, has simply abandoned the impartial role that the situation assigned to them and sided with one of the parties to the civil war, that is, with the Muslim side. This very much discredits the United Nations and the other foreign factors that got deeply involved in such military action and called into question their impartiality and their ability to continue to carry out peace efforts. The very act of aggression on the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina is in itself certainly a great enough provocation for the prospects of peace and for us who live on this side of the Drina [River]. On the other hand, launching military operations with air power in close proximity to our borders always carries the great risk of deliberate or accidental mistakes, something that makes the entire situation very complex and can lead to uncontrolled negative development in the whole region.

As regards our resoluteness to defend our own country with all means against any foreign enemy and danger, that should not be questioned. This would be poor advice to all other factors if they took this in a facile way and underestimated our resoluteness to defend ourselves.

Commentary on UN Decision on Turkish Troops

AU1204112294 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Apr 94 p 2

[Miroslav Lazanski commentary: "Askers in Bosnia"]

[Text] UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali has accepted Turkey's offer to send troops to former Bosnia-Herzegovina as part of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]. Butrus-Ghali's decision was undoubtedly dictated by the problems of providing a new contingent of troops for UNPROFOR in Bosnia. The United Nations could not find additional troops from other countries; so that the Security Council openly stressed that it was forced to accept Ankara's offer. That is the excuse by which the United Nations, the Security Council, and Butrus-Ghali have tried to justify their action in view of all the criticism from throughout the world, and particularly from the Balkans, at the Turks being sent to a region where they were masters and governors for more than 500 years. The UN Security Council's decision, lacking any subtlety of historical memory, is becoming more and more the object of serious analysis and criticism by many NATO member-states, among which Greece, of course, takes the lead.

Nevertheless, come what may, some 2,700 Turkish soldiers are getting ready to set off for former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Askers [Turkish soldiers] are again on the road to Bosnia. How, with what, in which way, how capable are they in military terms [as published]? From what is known, UNPROFOR intends to deploy exclusively engineering units of the Turkish Army in Bosnia, in the first place for logistical support, but also for more

difficult engineering works in order to fix communications. Since the task involves activities in the conflict zone, the Turkish troops will have to have protection, of course, if the war continues. Whether that protection will be given by NATO war planes, or their own forces, will be seen very soon, as soon as the Turkish troops and their equipment arrive in Bosnia.

How capable are the Turkish engineers, and other soldiers, of carrying out UNPROFOR assignments, given the terrain of former Bosnia-Herzegovina? The answer lies in the picture of the contemporary Turkish army, its equipment and armament, the doctrine of its deployment, the concept of development, membership in NATO, the historic role of the army in the development of modern Turkey....

The second greatest military power in NATO, after the United States, is the Turkish Army, numbering some 480,000 soldiers (390,000 recruits, service lasts 15 months). In terms of status in Turkish society, the army members are an elite class, which since 1960 has intervened three times to suppress riots, or rather to attain power. It is an army that, until the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, policed one third of the border between NATO and the former Soviet Union, that is, some 400 kilometers of the only direct border with the former Soviet Union, except in Norway. That was a task of the 3d Turkish Army, being actually the most powerful operational-strategic Turkish armed force.

After the demise of the Warsaw Pact, and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Turkey relocated its armies, so that now the most powerful 1st Army is concentrated on the border toward Greece and the islands in the Aegean. The American military is still present in that country, and every year Ankara is given great economic and military aid, because of its role on the southern wing of NATO. There are 26 large U.S. and NATO military bases on Turkish territory, in addition to several dozens of smaller military compounds. The most important is certainly the great air force base in Incirlik, including warehouses for logistical support in (Iskenderun?) and (Yumurtalik?). In that base the planes equipped with nuclear weapons are stationed. In (Chigly?), near Ismir, there is another U.S. air-force base, and, in addition, the U.S. planes are using the airports in (Pirinclik?), Ankara, and (Eshishecher?). The ships of the U.S. Navy are using almost all the Turkish ports and shipyards. The ships of the U.S. 6th Fleet are anchored very frequently in the port of Iskenderun in the Mediterranean. There are very important radio-locating [as published] stations in Synop and Pyrinchyluk, while 14 Nage [not further specified] stations of the NATO anti-aircraft defense system are positioned throughout Turkish territory.

Being so tightly bound with the NATO and the United States, Turkey is trying to overpower the Kurds in the southeast of the country, and to obtain a more prominent place on the international stage. During the Gulf War against Iraq, Ankara allowed the Allies to use

Turkish territory—airports and navy ports, as well as the entire border belt toward Iraq itself.

Later, Turkey was financially rewarded by the West for its support, so it is a state that receives the most military aid from NATO. True, some NATO member-states sometimes give their outdated arms and equipment to Turkey for free, but still, the Turkish Army is today one of the most powerful armies in Europe—4,835 tanks, 3,000 infantry armored vehicles and transporters, 4,550 cannons of various calibers, 1,870 anti-aircraft cannons, 2,100 mortars. The ground forces have their own aviation, numbering 269 aircraft and 538 helicopters, the air forces involve 60,000 people and 539 combat aircraft, 126 of which are F-16's, 137 F-5's, as well as 155 F-4's, while the navy numbers 50,000 people, 15 submarines, 11 destroyers, eight frigates, 16 missile craft, including its own naval air force.... There was a time, 20 years ago, when the Turkish armament industry was incapable of manufacturing even a simple piston aircraft for amateur flying clubs. Today, Turkey manufactures U.S. F-16 fighters, the latest electronics, and missiles.

As for the engineering equipment, the Turkish soldiers deployed within UNPROFOR in Bosnia will have various types of engineering vehicles, based on the old M-47 U.S. tanks (German version), as well as Bailey pontoons. Since the UNPROFOR units are a multinational force, it will be interesting to see how the Turkish troops function under the command of foreign officers.

All in all, the UN decision, not very wise from the political point of view, will place the Turkish soldiers in much temptation. It seems as though the problem with the Kurds is not enough of a problem for Ankara. Or is this all about the old dreams of coming back to the Balkans?

FRY Delegation To Visit Srpska Republic

LD1104144394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1317 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—At its session today the federal government discussed the situation in the wake of the NATO air strike against the territory of the Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the vicinity of Gorazde. It decided to send a delegation of the Yugoslav Government, headed by Vice Prime Minister Zeljko Simic, to the Srpska republic where they will acquaint themselves with the situation and consequences on the spot.

The government, as is reported, also decided to send a protest note to Italy, because it provided its air bases for the aircraft that attacked the Serb territories in ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the same time it decided that the federal government would send a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali in which it will point out the facts that indicate that the NATO air strike against the territory of the Srpska republic was a violation of the UN Charter.

Simic To Head Delegation

LD1104160794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1537
GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 11 (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Yugoslav Federal Government, headed by Deputy Prime Minister Zeljko Simic, will visit the Srpska republic in order to look into the consequences of the NATO plane bombardment there.

The government brought this decision at an extraordinary session Monday [11 April] devoted to the situation following the bombardment of the Srpska republic around the town of Gorazde, in the east of war-shattered Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The government has also decided to address a protest note to Italy for having allowed NATO planes to fly from its airfields and a letter to the UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali pointing out that the NATO air attacks on the Srpska republic constitute a violation of the U.N. charter, it is said in a statement issued by the government.

At the same session the government has assessed the U.N. decision about the engagement of NATO airforces in the bombardment of the territory of the Srpska republic as direct involvement in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina on the side of the Moslems and a dangerous precedent which could have far-reaching consequences.

The cabinet of Prime Minister Kontic has also conveyed the solidarity of all Yugoslav citizens with the Serb people in the Srpska republic who are the victims of aggression.

The U.N. has brought the decision about the engagement of NATO planes at the request of the peacekeepers on the field who accused the Serbs of attacking the civilian population in Gorazde.

According to Serb military sources, however, it was from Gorazde that around 10,000 Moslem troops launched an attack on Serb positions around the town, which should have been demilitarized last spring as a UN-protected area.

Reports of the U.N. peacekeepers confirm that the combats around Gorazde were provoked by the Moslems. According to Serb military sources the Moslem offensive is aimed at gaining as much territory as possible from the Serbs ahead of the continuation of the peace talks conducted under international mediation.

Economic Notes From the Serbian Press

94P20630A

[Editorial Report] The following items on economic developments in former Yugoslavia are from the Belgrade daily POLITIKA:

Revival of "Srpska Republic" Economy

The government of the republic of Srpska [RS], the self-proclaimed Serbian state on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, set up a group of experts "a few days ago" to work with counterparts from Serbia in preparing the groundwork for linking the economic system of the RS to that of Serbia, POLITIKA reports on 18 March. The experts will create a "consortium of reputable RS businessmen" who live and work in Belgrade. "Again this spring," the daily points out, agriculture has priority in revitalizing the economy. A diesel oil allowance of 50 liters per hectare is being distributed to RS farmers at a price of one German mark per liter. POLITIKA reports that the fuel was imported, but that "it is officially not known how it came from Italy, whether it came via Croatia, and what the arrangements were." "At this moment," the daily reports, 60 to 70 million dinars would be sufficient to get production moving in the RS. Svetislav Mudrenovic, vice president of the RS Economic Chamber and president of the Banja Luka Economic Chamber, said that in addition to securing the needed funds, workforce issues should be resolved, and "specialists" should be brought back from the army. Moreover the customs duties between the "Serbian lands" [Serbia and RS] should be lifted, Mudrenovic said, pointing out that customs fees in Sremska Raca (Serbia) and Bosanska Raca [Bosnia] are so high that they are harder to endure than the international sanctions.

Protest by "Cheated" Bank Depositors

Depositors of the Inos Bank in the Serbian city of Paracin, whose owner, Boro Kostic, allegedly defrauded them of their savings, have announced a large protest to take place in the center of Paracin, the 18 March POLITIKA reports. Although the municipal court in Paracin has issued a decision in favor of the 3,800 complainants against Kostic and the Inos Bank, the depositors will be unable to collect their claims. This is especially true of people with small deposits of 100 to 500 German marks, who, if property belonging to Kostic and the Inos bank is sold, will be able to collect only about 50 dinars each, enough to cover the cost of their court fees, POLITIKA states. The paper notes that Kostic, "formerly a producer of window blinds," registered houses and businesses he bought in the names of relatives, and such properties cannot be confiscated. The paper claims that depositors with large accounts were able to withdraw their money in time. It is believed that the Inos Bank collected about 100 million German marks from "naive" depositors, POLITIKA reports.

Bank's Loans To Aid Agriculture

The Vrsac (Vojvodina) Bank, a branch of the Beogradska (Belgrade) Bank, has purchased 1,000 metric tons of fertilizers for the Vrsac wheat-producing agricultural enterprises Elan, Panonija, and Agrovrsac, according to the 18 March POLITIKA. The daily explains that the Vrsac Bank had paid the Pancevo Azotara fertilizer

company 360,000 dinars and granted short-term loans to the farmers, with payment deferred until the completion of the harvest. According to the bank's director, it has approved about 700,000 dinars' worth of loans to support the region's agriculture and revive its economy.

Karic Bank Loan to Serbian PTT

On 8 March, representatives of the Karic Bank signed a contract with the Post, Telegraph, and Telephone [PTT] Public Enterprise of Serbia on a \$13.5 million loan, *POLITIKA* of 9 March reports. These funds will be used for the purchase of "indispensable components and supplies" for the PTT, thus enabling this enterprise to remain technologically at the top of the Yugoslav market, *POLITIKA* states, adding that with this loan the Karic Bank continues its "investment cycle" in the Yugoslav economy. Karic Bank representatives, according to *POLITIKA*, consider this contract to be among the safest of the bank's investments.

New Brewery, Factories

A new brewery, Inventing-Roganovic, was inaugurated on 7 March in Temerin near Novi Sad, Vojvodina. The ceremony was attended by federal, republic, and provincial officials, including the governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, Dr. Dragoslav Avramovic, reports the 8 March issue of *POLITIKA*. Avramovic praised the brewery's owner, Slobodan Roganovic, declaring that "people like Roganovic are our future." *POLITIKA* observes that "during the time of crisis, [Roganovic] decided to build three factories." In addition to the brewery, he has just finished building Invent Durvin in Temerin, a plant that produces and processes polyvinyl chloride, and Invent Poliplast in Beocin, which manufactures bathtubs and shower stalls. Before the "international blockade," states *POLITIKA*, Roganovic's "Invent" plumbing-fixture factory in Rakovac exported more than one-third of its production.

Serbia

Milosevic Discusses Bosnia With Churkin

LD1104203394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2004
GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 11 (TANJUG)—NATO's bombing of Serb positions around Gorazde has dispersed the illusion about the international community's objective stand toward the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, President of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic said after meeting with Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin on Monday [11 April], the presidential cabinet said in a statement.

Milosevic said that the offensive of the Bosnian Moslem army had been going on for weeks before the very eyes of the international public but that the United Nations had done nothing to stop it, apart from a few mild warnings.

On the contrary, the Moslem enclave of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia was used as a springboard for the offensive on Bosnian Serb positions. By launching air strikes, the U.N. evidently became involved in the civil war on the Bosnian Moslem side, which is highly reprehensible and discredits the world organization as a mediator in the peace process, he said.

U.S. NATO warplanes on Sunday and Monday bombed Bosnian Serb positions around Gorazde, a Moslem enclave which should have been demilitarized last spring as one of the six U.N. "safe areas."

Late in March, around 10,000 Moslems, who had been massed in Gorazde for the offensive, launched a strong offensive on Serb territories.

After breaking the offensive, the Serb army made a strong counter-attack and penetrated to a distance of several kilometres close to the town.

Milosevic said that, in order to surmount the current crisis, it would be necessary to reach peace without prejudice concerning political solutions, rather than to allow an escalation of war. When there are no more armed conflicts, political negotiations should be brought to an end, he said.

The Serbian president supported the resumed talks between Knin and Zagreb and expressed satisfaction over the successful implementation of the ceasefire agreement between the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) and Croatia.

The new phase of talks between the two sides, expected to focus on normalization of economic ties, in itself touches the problem of the sanctions, which are at this moment the biggest obstacle to successful talks.

Undoubtedly, all factions who care for peace and an end of the crisis hope that the talks between Knin and Zagreb would result in restored economic and communication ties. However, it is impossible to achieve that while one of the sides (Serb) is constantly being exposed to sanctions of the international community, which make such ties impossible, Milosevic said.

The international community and its public will therefore face a choice of either supporting a normalization of relations and peace or, through the implementation of the sanctions, insisting on confrontation.

In that case, the sanctions would be the biggest obstacle to the peace process and a normalization of relations, Milosevic said and added that he expected the forces of peace and cooperation to overwhelm the advocates of war and prolonged crisis.

The RSK was proclaimed in 1991 in the Serb ethnic and historical territories within the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia in response to Croatia's violent secession from the former Yugoslav federation and the downgrading of the Serbs' status to that of an ethnic minority.

In March 1992, the RSK territory was proclaimed a United Nations protected area (UNPA).

The talks between Milosevic and Churkin were also attended by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic and Russian Ambassador in Belgrade Gennadiy Shikin.

Says UN No Longer Unbiased

LD1104133594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1226 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received the special envoy of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and held lengthy and open talks with him.

According to the cabinet of President Milosevic, the latest developments in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina were discussed, as well as the positive developments in the negotiations between Knin and Zagreb.

President Milosevic stressed that the bombardment of Serb positions around Gorazde had shattered the delusion about the international community's unbiased attitude to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina army's offensive has been going on for weeks before the eyes of the entire world public whereas the United Nations has done nothing to stop this offensive except for placid warnings. On the contrary, Gorazde as a protected zone has been used as a bridgehead for an offensive against the Serb positions. By intervening with its air force, the United Nations has undoubtedly taken part in the civil war on the side of the Muslims, something that should undoubtedly be condemned as it seriously dents the reputation of the United Nations in its capacity as a mediator in the peace process. In President Milosevic's view, in order to overcome the crisis that has emerged it is necessary to settle for peace without prejudicing a political solution instead of escalating military operations and then—in a situation marked by the absence of armed conflicts—finish political negotiations.

As far as the negotiations between Knin and Zagreb are concerned—during the course of which the Russian side played an undoubtedly constructive role—President Milosevic expressed support for further negotiations while expressing satisfaction with the successful implementation of the agreement on the cessation of all hostilities between the army of the republic of Serb Krajina and the Croatian Army. President Milosevic also stressed that his personal contacts with President Martić of Krajina had convinced him of the Krajina leadership's constructive attitude and their sincere desire to overcome the crisis through negotiations. However, the next phase of negotiations that should follow the normalization of economic relations raises in itself the problem of sanctions, which at the moment poses the largest obstacle to the success of the negotiations.

It is beyond doubt that all factors interested in peace and in ending the crisis want the economic and traffic links between Knin and Zagreb to be reestablished through negotiations, but that cannot be achieved as long as the international sanctions—which make such links impossible—are being applied against one (Serb) side. This is why the international community and the world public will have to face the choice: Either they support the normalization of relations and peace, or—by keeping the sanctions—they insist on disrupted relations and confrontations. In that event, the sanctions would be the greatest obstacle to the peace process and the normalization of relations, President Milosevic stressed, expressing his expectation that the forces of peace and cooperation will overpower the protagonists of the war option and of prolonging the crisis.

Today's talks between President Milosevic and Vitaliy Churkin were also attended by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic and the Russian Ambassador to Belgrade Gennadiy Shikin.

All U.S. Citizens on Territory 'Aggressors'

AU1204075794 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Mirko Jovic, chairman of the Serbian People's Defense Party, said in a statement for Belgrade Radio that an aggression was carried out on Serbian land. All U.S. citizens that are currently anywhere on the Serbian territory should be told that we consider them to be aggressors and that we are going to treat them as such. If one more aircraft takes off from Italian territory to fly to Serbian space, we are going to consider this to be participating in the aggression, because of which one should declare war on Italy, Mirko Jovic pointed out. He added that the FRY Government is obligated to proclaim general mobilization and ban the work of all media with a pro-U.S. orientation.

SPS Statement Condemns NATO Air Strikes

LD1104154894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—The ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) today condemned the NATO attack against the positions of the Srpska republic army and warned that it could have immeasurable consequences on the escalation of the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina and on the stability in the Balkans.

By committing the unannounced, treacherous April act, NATO has sided with the Muslims in the civil war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, a statement by the SPS main committee says, and adds that NATO forces directly helped the Muslim offensive by military means and clearly declared their support to the forces that favor war.

The SPS believes that this action instigates and encourages the militancy of the Muslim side, and hardens their

unrealistic aspirations, which could put in jeopardy the peace process by strengthening those who advocate the war option in solving the Bosnian drama.

This action threatens all constructive approaches to find a just solution through political negotiations and in a peaceful manner and resumes the policy of pressure, which places the sides in the conflict on an unequal footing, the statement says.

The SPS warns that this brutal act also represents a basis for preserving and maintaining permanent instability in the Balkans and that pressure, saber rattling, frequent border provocations, and bombing are all integral parts of a scenario for the escalation of the war in the area.

By giving cover to NATO for this act of aggression, the United Nations is losing its credibility in the peace mission in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the SPS main committee says and concludes that by covering up and falsifying the facts, by concealing the Muslim offensive, smuggling weapons to the Muslim side, by making a decision to deploy Turkish forces in Bosnia, and now by bombing the Serb positions—the United Nations has confirmed that it is a mere instrument in the hands of those countries that want to achieve their interests and aspirations in the Balkans by prolonging the war.

The SPS believes that the way out of this situation must be sought through the prompt reaching of a truce in order to create conditions for the resumption of negotiations, the SPS says.

The statement says that political negotiations are the only way to reach a just and lasting solution to the conflict in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and appeals to those circles in the international community who want peace in the Balkans to support such efforts.

Other Parties Comment

LD1104213294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2045
GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 11 (TANJUG)—All political parties in Yugoslavia on Monday condemned the NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions around Gorazde on Sunday, and set out that the siding of the international community with one of the warring sides could effect an escalation of the war not only in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina but also beyond in the Balkans.

The ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) issued a statement warning that NATO forces had "directly militarily aided the Muslim offensive and clearly declared support to the forces which want war," while the United Nations, "by lending its name to the aggressive act," had lost credibility for its peace mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"By covering up and falsifying facts, concealing the Muslim offensive, delivering arms to the Muslim Army, deciding to engage Turkish troops, and now resorting to

bombing, the United Nations has shown to be merely an instrument in the hands of the countries which want to achieve their interests and aspirations in the Balkan region by prolonging the war," the SPS statement set out.

The U.N. took the decision to engage NATO aircraft at the request of the U.N. peace-keepers in the field, who have accused the Bosnian Serbs of allegedly launching attacks on the civilian population in Gorazde.

However, the Muslim enclave of Gorazde, which should have been demilitarized last spring as one of the six U.N.-proclaimed "safe areas," has been used by the Muslim side to mass around 10,000 troops and launch the offensive operations against Bosnian Serb positions in the area.

The U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), itself, has said in its reports that the fighting in the area of Gorazde has been provoked by the Muslims. Bosnian Serb military sources have said that the Muslim offensive was launched with a view to winning territories before the internationally brokered peace talks resume.

The SPS said that a solution to the existing situation called for peace to be signed immediately so that conditions would be created for further talks. The ruling SPS underscored that talks were the "sole means of equitably and lastingly resolving the conflict in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Serbia's Democratic Party (DS) termed the air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions around Gorazde an "act of aggression."

The DS statement recalled that the U.N. Security Council resolution proclaiming "safe areas" in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina called for the protection of the civilian population and the full demilitarization of the respective areas.

The Gorazde "safe area" has, however, been turned into a real military base which is used by the Muslim army to prepare troops and launch offensive operations, the DS statement said. It set out that the Bosnian Serb Republic (R.S.) took the necessary measures to neutralize the dangers of the misuse of "safe areas" and the bombing of Serb positions by NATO was, therefore, totally unfounded.

The Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) recalled that UNPROFOR reports from the field had said that the fighting around Gorazde had been provoked by the Muslim troops. The DSS set out that "NATO, that is, those who are irresponsibly pulling its strings, have shown with the attack on Serb positions that they have war and not peace on their mind."

The Serbian Radical Party (SRS) qualified the NATO air strikes on Bosnian Serb positions as "aggression against the entire Serb people."

The SRS called for the Yugoslav parliament to hold an emergency session "clearly and loudly to take a stand on

the aggression." It urged the federal government urgently to take a decision to terminate Yugoslavia's membership in the United Nations, close the Yugoslav U.N. mission in New York, expel all United Nations personnel from Yugoslavia, and ban transit across Yugoslavia to all U.N. missions.

The SRS called on the state leadership of the Bosnian Serb Republic (R.S.) within the shortest period to expel UNPROFOR troops and United Nations and European Union representatives from its territory.

"We are convinced that the Serb army should counter with all available means every attack from the air," the SRS set out.

The Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) said that it was "against every violence, even if carried out at the orders of the U.N. secretary-general." The SPO statement said that "peace is the only alternative" and "everybody in Bosnia-Herzegovina has had enough of death, devastation, and suffering."

The SPO, nevertheless, feels that the "United Nations is not an enemy of the Serbs" and that the enemies are those who are "pushing (Serbs) into a war with the whole world."

The New Democracy (ND) said that "the use of force leads to a further escalation of the war and draws the entire region further away from the much needed equitable and lasting peace."

The ND maintains that "the siding of UNPROFOR with one side" and the use of NATO aircraft were reckless moves.

The Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS), the ruling party in the Yugoslav republic of Montenegro, expressed deep concern and indignation at the NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serbs positions around Gorazde, and said that the moves were a violation of the basic United Nations commitments and principles.

The DPS statement said the NATO air strikes threatened to be an introduction to the dangerous practice of the imposition of solutions by means of force and the favouring of individual interests without the acknowledgement and equal participation of all warring sides.

We consider unacceptable and extremely dangerous the use of external force against any side in the civil war, especially at a moment when an end to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been initiated with a strong diplomatic action on the part of the international community and its most important representatives—the United States, Russia, and the European Union, the DPS statement said.

Kosovo

Commentator Assesses Rift Among Kosovo Albanians

AU1104085294 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Commentary by Zeljko Avramovic]

[Text] Politics is primarily an ability to accomplish what is possible to accomplish, and every political activity relying on imaginary strongholds inevitably leads away from reality, toward nothing. Returning to reality usually means (?returning to the essence of the matter), which, like every other nucleus, is covered in darkness.

This should have been borne in mind by those who, entering political waters, assumed the responsibility of leading the Albanian people in Kosovo toward the aim that, as everyone knows, is outside the domain of serious political thinking. The intoxicating seductiveness of the idea of Kosovo as an independent state, which would be represented by these very people in the capital cities of Europe and the world with the accompanying sounds of an anthem and a guard of honor, is returning to Rugova's supporters as a bitter pill that they do not want to swallow but cannot spit out either.

The painful sobering up has divided the Kosmet [Kosovo- Metohija] political elite. The rift in Rugova's Democratic League of Kosovo and clashes between the party and the government of the so-called republic of Kosovo that has been concealed for a long time have escalated in the past few weeks.

The party was left by Jusuf Budzovi, Ismet Salihu, Ibrahim Berisa, and Dr. Rexhep Isلامي. Rugova, Agani, and Hiseni have stayed in the Presidency of the so-called republic of Kosova. The clash between the government and the party leadership must have reached the upper limit considering that Bujar Bukoshi, prime minister of the self-declared Kosovo state, is being asked to resign.

Shkelzen Malici is publicly saying that the government is playing more the role of an improvised ministry for relations with other countries than is making vital decisions. The problem also arose as the consequences of the undefined hierarchy and control within the secessionist leadership.

Ibrahim Rugova has so far been the untouchable boss. The illegally elected parliament now formally no longer exists. The so-called government has been reduced to the prime minister and one minister, even though 17 ministries had been planned. So, everyone is accountable to Rugova, and he is accountable to no one.

Perhaps the motives for these clashes, whose cause is a lot more deeper and is encroaching the most sensitive sphere, the sphere of finances, should be sought in this backdrop. This is supported by a statement by Fehmi Agani, who is still loyal to Rugova. He said that the

distribution of financial resources and the collection of the compulsory 3-percent tax from the workers of Albanian nationality in the country and outside it are beyond control.

Rexhep Cosia, who split with Rugova earlier, holds the same view. The proximity of money is directly proportionate to the proximity of authority and every separation from it leads to resistance and proofs that something is wrong with the present authorities.

The former self-proclaimed prime minister Jusuf Zeinulahu also spoke up recently. He admitted what he had been aware of right from the beginning. According to him, the Assembly and the Government of the so-called republic of Kosovo were formed ad hoc with directives from the political parties of Albanians, and are not legitimate. Zeinulahu's public statement about something that many people were aware of has stirred the spirits in the leadership of the so-called Albania alternative and opened the road to the struggle to preserve the present positions, while creating covers in retreat. In this light one should view the participation in the debate in KOHA by the former high official of the Central Committee of the League of Communists and the spectacular return of Veton Suroi, who left a long time ago.

That something strange is happening is also confirmed by separate visits to the United States, first by Bukoshi, and then Rugova, and the statement by the former,

which was not approved of by the Democratic League of Kosovo. In an interview for the Voice of America, Bukoshi said that the status of an autonomous region for Kosovo can be accepted as the first step toward the ultimate solution of the Kosovo issue. This statement represents a major turnabout in relation to the sacred stand hitherto on Kosovo as an independent state. This raises the question as to why a section of the Albanian political leadership has redefined its position and accepted the existence of Yugoslavia and a dialogue with its legal organs.

It is difficult to believe that this a result of regret or bad conscience before one's own nation whom they pushed into an abyss. One could say that this is more a result of the unwilling acceptance of the fact that, on the one hand, no country in the world recognized Kosovo as an independent state, and on the other, that the state of Yugoslavia is sufficiently strongly standing on its legs, and that it is capable of thwarting the political exhibitionism of forced secession without difficulties.

In these circumstances an increasing number of Kosmet Albanian politicians and intellectuals are trying to extend their political activities with conciliatory stands. Belligerent statements and the policy of extreme demands have not yielded any results, and the advocates of the idea that the page should be turned over, or even begin writing a new book of political activities by Albanians in Kosovo, are becoming increasingly vociferous.